

# DAILY REPORT

*China*

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REPORTAGE ON VISIT OF U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE HAIG

Hong Kong Remarks

OW131223 Beijing XINHUA in English 1217 GMT 13 Jun 81

[Text] Beijing, 13 Jun (XINHUA)--U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig Jr said in Hong Kong yesterday that the situation in Poland is seriously deteriorating in the face of Soviet threats and warned that Soviet intervention would have "a major impact on the full-range of East-West relations," according to reports from Hong Kong.

Haig who is on his way to China told reporters in Hong Kong that "at a time when the situation in Poland is again seriously deteriorating, threats and threatening letters from Russia do not serve a useful purpose." "Clearly if there shou'd be Soviet intervention in Poland, it would have a major impact on the full-range of East-West relations, including the scheduled talks on theater nuclear force (in Europe)," he stressed.

Haig said the Middle East tensions are "again on the rise," in the wake of the Israeli raid. He added that "this situation underlines the urgency of a short-term and long-term peacekeeping process." He expressed the hope that the current situation will not be permitted to deflect the efforts of the parties involved in the peace-keeping process.

Arrival in Beijing

OW140722 Beijing XINHUA in English 0714 GMT 14 Jun 81

[Text] Beijing, 14 Jun (XINHUA)--Alexander Haig, secretary of state of the United States, his wife Patricia Haig, and their party flew into Beijing at noon today for a four-day visit to China at the invitation of Chinese Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua. The guests were greeted at the airport by Huang Hua and his wife He Liliang, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Zhang Wenjin, and Chinese Ambassador to the U.S. Chai Zemin and his wife Li Youfeng, as well as J. Stapleton Roy, interim charge d'affaires of the U.S. Embassy in Beijing, and Mrs Roy.

This is General Haig's first official visit to China in the capacity of state secretary. He had led an advanced party to Beijing in early 1972 to make preparations for President Nixon's China visit.

Haig is expected to meet with Chinese leaders during his present visit, the first high-level exchange between the Chinese and U.S. Governments since the Reagan administration took office, and discuss major international issues and bilateral relations.

Among the members of Secretary Haig's official party are: John Holdridge, assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs; Vernon Walters, senior adviser to the secretary; Dean Fischer, spokesman of the State Department; and Richard Burt, director of the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs.

Initial Talks With Huang Hua

OW141220 Beijing XINHUA in English 1213 GMT 14 Jun 81

[Text] Beijing, 14 Jun (XINHUA)--Chinese Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua and Alexander M. Haig, secretary of state of the United States, held their first round of talks at the Great Hall of the People here this afternoon. Chinese sources said, General Haig first gave an account of the Reagan administration's foreign policy. Then Huang Hua and Haig had a full and deep-going exchange of views on major international issues of mutual interest in a sincere and frank atmosphere.

## AFP Report on Talks

OW140938 Hong Kong AFP in English 0929 GMT 14 Jun 81

[Text] Beijing, 14 Jun (AFP)--Chinese Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua said today he hoped U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig's visit here would be "fruitful." Greeting Mr Haig at the Great Hall of the People at the beginning of his first meeting with the secretary of state who had arrived earlier today, Mr Huang said "your visit at this time is of major significance and very useful." "The international situation is tense and [word indistinct]," Mr Huang added in a short speech made in front of journalists before the opening of the talks.

## 14 June Banquet, Speeches

OW141642 Beijing XINHUA in English 1621 GMT 14 Jun 81

[Text] Beijing, 14 Jun (XINHUA)--Alexander Haig, secretary of state of the United States, Mrs Patricia Haig, and their party were guests of honor at a banquet hosted by Chinese Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua at the Great Hall of the People this evening.

In his toast, Huang Hua said Secretary Haig's visit and the current high-level Sino-U.S. talks held in Beijing are of major significance for enhancing the mutual understanding and relations between the two countries. The Chinese vice-premier said he appreciated President Reagan's remarks that the principles set forth in the Sino-U.S. joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations will be respected and that great attention will be given to the development of bilateral relations on this basis. He said the present international situation has become even more turbulent and the independence and security of many countries and peace in the world have come under increasingly serious threats from hegemonism. "We deem it both necessary and beneficial for our two sides to have an in-depth and frank exchange of views, under the present circumstances, on international issues of mutual interest and on bilateral relations," he stated.

"The basic starting point of China's foreign policy is to oppose hegemonism and safeguard world peace. The Chinese Government and people will continue to make unswerving efforts towards this end along with all the other peace-loving and justice-upholding countries and peoples." Huang Hua reiterated the Chinese Government's consistent position in supporting the people of Afghanistan and Kampuchea in their struggle against aggression, in supporting the Arab and Palestinian peoples in their struggle against Israel's policy for aggression and expansion, in supporting the people of southern Africa in their struggle for national independence and in supporting the developing countries in their reasonable demand for the establishment of a new international economic order.

Huang Hua said China attaches importance to her strategic relationship with the United States. He said although there are quite a few differences between China and the U.S. in policy and viewpoint, they have many common or similar views. "We believe that difficulties in our relations can be surmounted so long as both sides proceed from the overall strategic interests, remain firm in the conviction that our mutual cooperation conduces to world peace and stability and conforms to the interests of our two peoples, and at the same time handle our differences in a cautious and appropriate manner," Huang Hua said.

Despite the twists and turns in their relations in the past, he said, "our two peoples have always been friendly towards each other." Huang Hua said, "It is the requirement of our era and the ardent desire of our two peoples that the relations between our two countries continue to move forward on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence and the principles of the Sino-U.S. joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations. We should fulfill this desire of our two peoples."



Secretary Haig said in his banquet toast U.S.-China rapprochement was based on strongly held national interests and the intervening years have confirmed that judgment. "Contacts between our two nations have grown; friendship has flowered; and mutual advantage has been served," he said. "Our relations are now firmly based on the joint communique that normalized our diplomatic ties."

Haig said four American presidents--including President Reagan--have attached the highest importance to the development and expansion of friendly relations with your government. He said: "Our cooperation serves our mutual interests; it is essential to peace and stability, not only in the Asia/Pacific region but also the world. Chinese-American cooperation is all the more important today, when we confront serious threats to peace and tranquility," the secretary said.

Haig said President Reagan has pledged that the United States, working with its allies and friends, will act with comrade and consistency to resist aggression. "In this effort, the United States considers China to be a close and valued friend. Our national interests are parallel in many respects; our policies can often complement each other. We regard China's strength, security and well-being as fundamental to the global balance." General Haig said President Reagan is committed to the steady strengthening of U.S.-China relations. "It was my honor today, Mr Vice Premier, to explore with you ways to achieve this objective," the U.S. secretary of state said.

Also present at the banquet were Huang Zhen, minister in charge of the commission for cultural relations with foreign countries; Zhang Wenjin, vice-minister of foreign affairs; Chai Zemin, Chinese ambassador to the United States; and J. Stapleton Roy, interim charge d'affaires of the U.S. Embassy in Beijing.

#### 15 June Talks With Huang

OW150714 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 15 Jun 81

[Text] Beijing, 15 Jun (XINHUA)--Huang Hua, Chinese vice-premier and foreign minister, held his second round of talks with Alexander Haig, secretary of state of the United States, here this morning. Sources said they had a deep-going discussion on bilateral relations and continued their exchange of views on a wide range of international issues of common concern.

#### AFP on Haig's Activities

OW150924 Hong Kong AFP in English 0913 GMT 15 Jun 81

[Excerpts] Beijing, 15 Jun (AFP)--U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig this afternoon met Vice-Premier Bo Yibo, an expert in economic affairs, in his latest session of talks with Chinese leaders. "I am very glad to have a chance to see you again since your visit to the United States last September," Mr Haig speaking before journalists, told his Chinese host, who has made several trips to the United States.

Questioned on his unexpectedly lengthy session of talks with Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua this morning, Mr Haig said they had "had much to discuss." His meeting with Mr Huang lasted three and a half hours and focussed on the thorny issue of Taiwan. No further details on the talks which lasted nearly two hours longer than scheduled, have been given.

After his meeting with Vice-Premier Bo, Mr Haig was scheduled to have talks with Mr Geng Biao in the next stage of his three-day official visit to China which started Sunday.

A U.S. State Department official said Mr Haig had discussed bilateral and international issues with Mr Huang, but he refused to comment further.

During his welcoming speech to Mr Haig at a banquet in Beijing last night Mr Huang emphasised the "difficulties" between China and the United States, saying however they could be surmounted.

The State Department official today did not rule out that the "difficulties" referred to by Mr Huang particularly those linked to Taiwan had been brought up at the meeting. He added that the meeting between the two statesmen had "certainly not" ended in a "deadlock."

The official said also that Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs John Holdridge had held a working lunch with Chinese Deputy Foreign Minister charged with American affairs, Zhang Wenjin. Another working lunch was hosted by a top Chinese defence official Chai Chengwen for other members of the Haig party.

#### AMBASSADOR TO U.S. ACCEPTS HONORARY DEGREE

OW091926 Beijing XINHUA in English 1913 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] Washington, 9 Jun (XINHUA)--Chinese Ambassador Chai Zemin accepted an honorary doctor of laws degree conferred on him on June 7 by Cornell College, a well-known U.S. institution of higher education in the state of Iowa.

President Philip B. Secor of Cornell College spoke at a ceremony for this occasion attended by congressmen, state and country officials, college faculty and students and alumni. He said the Chinese saying "Let a hundred flowers blossom--let a hundred schools of thought contend" expresses the importance of a dialectic between idea and response, between individual creativity and collective criticism. He pointed out that Chinese culture, language, and educational and political systems are in many ways "vastly different from ours." "What a truly liberal and liberating education can give us, I think, is precisely the ability to recognize and appreciate difference, and to comprehend its scope, and through that perception to arrive at common understandings and goals."

Ambassador Chai said the conferring of an honorary degree on him symbolizes the long standing friendship and respect of the American people for the Chinese people and he looked forward to increasing exchanges between China and the United States.

Founded in 1853 at the very center of America's agricultural heartland, Cornell is noted for its education in liberal arts, science and technology and its international programs. Nearly five percent of the students enrolled this year came from other countries. The first student from the People's Republic of China will be studying at Cornell this fall.

#### U.S. NAVY PLAN TO USE LONG-RANGE MISSILES REPORTED

OW051221 Beijing-XINHUA in English 1207 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Text] Washington, 4 Jun (XINHUA)--The U.S. Navy will deploy new long-range cruise missiles on submarines and surface vessels beginning next January, within a month after expiration of an arms limitation protocol attached to the U.S.-Soviet SALT II treaty, the Defense Department confirmed here today. Pentagon officials said the first missiles would have a range of about 700 miles, or 330 miles more than the limited range of 372 miles laid down in the said protocol, which will expire next December 31.

Nuclear-tipped cruise missiles with a range of about 1,350 miles that can reach the Soviet Union from the sea would be added later, probably in mid-1984, a Pentagon spokesman said. The spokesman added that the navy hoped to have 600 sea-based cruise missiles by 1985. The spokesman said that the Reagan administration is not in favour of ratifying the SALT II treaty and the protocol has not been ratified either. Cruise missiles are low flying torpedos that can fly at treetop level below radar defenses and can be directed to their targets with computers with pinpoint accuracy. As nuclear weapons, they are designed to supplement the land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles and the bomber force.

VIETNAMESE SHELL GUANGXI VILLAGE 10 JUNE

OW130824 Beijing XINHUA in English 0818 GMT 13 Jun 81

[Text] Nanning, 13 Jun (XINHUA)--Vietnamese shelling on June 10 destroyed a Chinese border village inhabited by Zhuang nationality people, killing one villager and wounding another, according to military sources here. The bombardment levelled 39 homes, a school, warehouses and cattle pens of Banbiao village in Ningming County, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous region. Villagers were evacuated under direction of local cadres. The Vietnamese troops opened fire beginning shortly after 5 pm. The shelling lasted for two and a half hours, and more than 160 heavy artillery shells landed on the village.

HANOI'S 'OPEN-DOOR' ECONOMIC POLICY CRITICIZED

OW101151 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0201 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Beijing, 10 Jun (XINHUA)--According to the news from Hanoi, Vietnam adopted a "flexible" economic policy for Ho Chi Minh City in the latter half of 1979 with the hope of alleviating its economic difficulties and luring some businessmen in the West and Southeast Asia through opening the city to the "world market." A large number of diplomats in Hanoi do not believe that this idea will work and only a few agree with it.

Since reunifying the south, Hanoi has carried out a policy of "using all its armed might to indulge in wars of aggression" in external affairs and a policy of "draining the pond to get all the fish" in domestic affairs. As a result, economic decline and social disorder have affected Ho Chi Minh City, originally the grain collecting and distributing center as well as the industrial and commercial center of the south. The economy in the south has been seriously undermined, particularly by the former policy of plunder and confiscation of industry and commerce in southern Vietnam. Despite Soviet aid, Hanoi has failed to correct this situation. While continuously begging for Soviet aid, Hanoi has been doing what it can to lure Western and Southeast Asian countries to give aid to Vietnam's war economy.

In the latter half of 1979, Hanoi adopted a "flexible" economic policy for the south, particularly for Ho Chi Minh City, and achieved some temporary results. According to recent visitors to Ho Chi Minh City, more people are doing business in the streets and commodities imported from Hong Kong and Southeast Asian and Western countries as well as commodities sent by Vietnamese residing abroad are seen in the open markets.

Social order has also become more stabilized than it was at the time when large numbers of refugees tried to flee the country. However, it is still hard for people to earn a living and commodity prices are frightfully high. Many people are forced to earn their living by running small stores along the streets.

Those who "disagree" with this "open-door" policy say: Vietnam has relied too much on the Soviet Union so that it has become too heavily indebted to the Soviet Union in foreign trade. Vietnam has given all its major agricultural products for export to the Soviet Union so that it has nothing to trade with the West. Many medium-and short-term loans that Vietnam obtained from the West in the past few years have matured and it is estimated that Vietnam will have to pay back \$200 million U.S. every year from 1981 to 1983.

Under such circumstances, the Soviet Union will certainly make things difficult for the Vietnamese if they try hard to increase exports to pay back their debts, particularly if they try to export more agricultural products and expand trade with the West and Southeast Asia.



Recently Vietnamese officials have often spread the rumor that certain difficulties have arisen in the relations between Vietnam and the Soviet Union. By so doing Vietnam is trying to seek more aid from the West by taking advantage of the illusion cherished by those in the West who do not understand Vietnam's dependence on the Soviet Union. These people cherish the illusion that developing economic relations with Vietnam may widen the breach between Vietnam and the Soviet Union.

However, some diplomats in Hanoi say: The policy of giving aid to Vietnam's war economy, if adopted by the West, will not widen the conflict between Vietnam and the Soviet Union. On the contrary, it is precisely what the Soviet Union wants, for such a policy will not only lessen the heavy burden on the Soviet Union but will also help it to build Hanoi's actual strength in pursuing its expansion in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

Furthermore, the West can expect to gain no economic reward whatsoever from a crippled Vietnam. Therefore, the policy of giving aid to Vietnam is politically harmful and economically unrealistic.

Those skeptical of such a policy also believe that Vietnam lacks sufficient conditions, both international and domestic, to build Ho Chi Minh City into an economic center. In the past, Saigon had only a weak industrial foundation and its past "prosperity" depended on U.S. aid and U.S. commodities. Since Vietnam's reunification, Saigon's former industry and commerce have suffered serious damage, thus seriously impairing its vitality. It is hard to believe that Hanoi's "flexible" policy can reverse this situation.

#### SRV THREAT CONDEMNED IN MALAYSIA, SINGAPORE PAPERS

OW101702 Beijing XINHUA in English 1646 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Excerpts] Hong Kong, 10 Jun (XINHUA)--Malaysian and Singapore papers point out in editorials or commentaries published in the last two days that the Vietnamese threat to plan another invasion of Thailand could only lay bare their lies and reveal their true colours as aggressors.

A commentary of the Malaysian NANYANG SIANG PAU points out. Vietnamese vice-foreign minister and chief representative in negotiation with Thailand has gone so far as to talk a lot about another Vietnamese invasion of Thailand. "Such a rare diplomatic gesture showed not only Vo Dong Giang's disregard of diplomatic norms, but also Vietnam's embarrassing predicament in the diplomatic and political fields." The commentary says that in fact, Vietnam is the chief culprit of the refugee problem, it should bear all the unfavorable consequences arising from this problem. "In view of the present circumstances, it is fair and reasonable for Thailand to repatriate unilaterally the Kampuchean refugees to their homeland." "Because as long as these refugees come from Kampuchea, it is right to repatriate them to that country," the commentary adds.

An editorial of Malaysian SING PIN JIH PAO says that Vietnam has been denying the Vietnamese armed intrusion of Thailand in June 1980 as an aggression, but now its Vice-Foreign Minister Vo Dong Giang frankly said "We don't want to repeat the incident of June 23, 1980." This is clearly a repudiation of its own denial.

An editorial of Singapore's SIN CHEW JIT POH says, "Vo Dong Giang's arrogance and presumption fully reflect the aggressive nature and militaristic policy of the Hanoi regime, moreover, he intimidated the host in the capital of the host country. His flagrancy and rudeness truly deserve 'admiration.' How can a Vietnamese vice-foreign minister speak for the Kampuchean Government? In fact, this exposed the Vietnamese authorities as occupationists in Kampuchea."



SOUTH ASIAN RESPONSE TO SOVIET HEGEMONISM VIEWED

## GONGREN RIBAO Article

HK100124 Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Jun 81 p 4

[Text] The permanent occupation of Afghanistan by 100,000 Soviet troops has seriously threatened the peace and security of the South Asian countries. Strengthening unity and cooperation against the threat of Soviet hegemonist southward expansion has become a problem of common concern to the people of all countries in South Asia.

For more than a year, many South Asian countries have used various forms to expose Soviet hegemonism in the international arena. At the UN General Assembly, the summit meeting of Islamic states and the summit meeting of nonaligned countries, they have unremittingly condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and called for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Under the present situation, even such countries as India, which signed a friendship treaty with the Soviet Union, also cannot but oppose foreign intervention in Afghanistan and call for the withdrawal of foreign troops from that country.

The common demand for resisting hegemonism and safeguarding the peace and security of their own region have prompted the South Asian countries to strengthen unity and cooperation and improve bilateral relations. Bangladesh has again expressed the hope of resolving the dispute between Bangladesh and India through peaceful negotiations. Pakistan announced that its purchase of military equipment from abroad is because in the situation which has resulted from the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Pakistan has no alternative but to strengthen its own defenses and hopes that India will understand. It said that Pakistan longs for peaceful coexistence with its neighbors and that Pakistan neither hopes nor has the capability of constituting a threat to India. Indira Gandhi of India not long ago expressed: "A stable Pakistan accords with India's interests." "We believe in coexistence and we will not allow any government system to obstruct our attempt to be on friendly terms with Pakistan."

People are delighted to see that after the proposal made by the recently assassinated Bangladesh President Ziaur Rahman last May, the South Asian countries have carried out frequent contacts and consultations, and the first meeting of foreign affairs ministers of seven countries was held in Colombo this April. The communique of the meeting stressed: "Regional cooperation should be based on the principle of mutual trust, understanding and sympathetic recognition of the national aspirations of the countries in the region, and work toward this end." The communique also stressed that regional cooperation "should be based on the principle of respecting sovereign equality, territorial integrity, political independence, noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries and mutual interests." The meeting also agreed to set up five groups to study the question of cooperation in such fields as agriculture, rural development, communications, meteorology, health and population. Specific proposals will be made at the next meeting to be held in the capital of Nepal in August. The Colombo meeting was of important significance to the unity and cooperation of the South Asian countries.

As everyone knows, there are still many conflicts between India and the surrounding countries, especially Pakistan and Bangladesh, and some of these conflicts are rather serious. Internal conflicts and struggle in some of these countries in South Asia are also rather intense. The Soviet Union has all along tried to meddle in them and use these conflicts to its advantage. Former Indian Prime Minister Morarji Desai disclosed that when he was in power the Soviet Union was instigating India to teach Pakistan a "lesson." After the invasion of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union has on the one hand tried to lasso India by promising large quantities of military equipment. Brezhnev and the Soviet chief of the General Staff went one after the other to carry out activities in India.

On the other hand, it also attacked Pakistan for its readiness to obtain arms from the United States and spread all kinds of rumors to sow discord between India and Pakistan. The Soviet KGB also brazenly carried out activities in the South Asian countries. Therefore, although the trend of united resistance to hegemonism in the South Asian countries is on the whole good it will not be all smooth sailing. The situation is not calm and they still need a high degree of vigilance to guard against Soviet troublemaking and sabotage.

## GUANGMING RIBAO Article

HK100946 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jun 81 p 3

[Article by Di Xin [4564 2450]: "The Situation in South Asia Since the Polar Bear Reached the Entrance of the Khyber Pass"]

[Text] "The polar bear has reached the entrance of the Khyber Pass" and is casting a covetous eye on the whole of South Asia. What is to be done? This is the new situation facing South Asian countries since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Every South Asian country cannot help seriously pondering this problem and is exploring ways about how to cope with this new situation. Experience in the past year or so shows that South Asian countries have been striving to find a suitable answer to this problem.

First, South Asian countries have been universally upholding justice, strongly condemning the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Pakistan and Bangladesh took the lead in jointly proposing the calling of an emergency special conference of the UN General Assembly. At the special conference and the 35th UN General Assembly, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka and the Maldives voted in support of the General Assembly resolution demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and the maintenance of Afghanistan's territorial integrity, political independence and nonaligned status. Pakistani President Ziaul Haq recently pointed out that in Afghanistan, a superpower is attempting to prove that the principle of "might is right" is still applicable today. But "we are not prepared to accept this principle." Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal and other countries also vehemently condemned or opposed the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Though India took a different stand (abstaining from voting on the above General Assembly resolution) and even said things in defense of the Soviet Union, it in principle could not but oppose foreign intervention in the internal politics of Afghanistan. On a recent visit to Kuwait, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, in a joint communique released by both sides, expressed great anxiety about the Afghan situation and demanded the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan.

Second, unity or cooperation between countries in the region is being strengthened in an attempt to improve bilateral relations. In May last year, the late president of Bangladesh suggested calling a conference of heads of state of South Asian countries. After a period of deliberation and discussion, the foreign ministers of the seven countries of India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and the Maldives held in April this year a conference in Colombo. This was the first regional conference held by the South Asian countries. It reflected the fervent desire for strengthening cooperation on the part of the countries of this region at a time when the Soviet Union was "involving South Asia and southwest Asia in its contest for world domination." The communique of the conference stressed that "regional cooperation should be based on mutual trust, understanding and sympathetic recognition of the national wishes of countries of the region and stimulated to this end. Furthermore, this cooperation should be based on the principle of respect for sovereignty and equality, territorial integrity, political independence, noninterference in other countries' internal affairs, and mutual interests." In August this year, the foreign ministers of the seven countries will also hold a conference in the capital of Nepal to further discuss such problems as the strengthening of economic cooperation. Meanwhile, Pakistan and Bangladesh have also taken the initiative to try to improve their relations with India.

The Indian minister of external affairs will also shortly visit Pakistan in return, continuing the process of normalizing relations between the two countries. After contact and consultations between the leaders of the two countries, the relations between Bangladesh and India also showed some improvement some time ago.

Third, the principle of nonalignment has been universally upheld and a unanimous stand has been taken at the Conference of Nonaligned Countries. In February this year, the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Nonaligned Countries was held in New Delhi. Together with the representatives of Singapore, Yugoslavia and the overwhelming majority of nonaligned countries, the representatives of Pakistan, Bangladesh and other South Asian countries strove to defend the goals and principles of the Nonaligned Movement, condemning the Soviet Union and Vietnam for their invasion of two nonaligned countries. The seven South Asian countries unanimously supported the declaration of the conference, demanding the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

Fourth, relations have been energetically strengthened with Third World countries, especially with the Gulf countries and ASEAN countries faced with the Soviet strategy of southward expansion. Two Islamic countries in South Asia--Pakistan and Bangladesh--last year energetically convened a special conference of foreign ministers of Islamic countries on the Afghan problem. The Maldives also actively participated in the conference. They all openly supported the resolution of the conference, condemning the Soviet Union by name for its invasion of Afghanistan and demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops. For over a year, there have been great developments in the relations between South Asian countries and the Gulf and Middle East countries. Many Islamic countries have taken support for the "frontline country" of Pakistan as their important duty. The leaders of Pakistan and Bangladesh have many times headed for Iran and Iraq tirelessly urging an early cease-fire between the two countries and a settlement of the dispute through peaceful negotiations, so as to avoid the intervention of the superpowers, especially the Soviet Union. On the Afghan and Kampuchean problems, the South Asian and ASEAN countries have shown mutual sympathy and support. Except for India, all South Asian countries support the legitimate representation of Democratic Kampuchea in the UN.

Meanwhile, South Asian countries have also universally strengthened friendly cooperation with our country. For example, Pakistan has once again stressed that the establishment of friendly relations with China is one of the three important ingredients of its foreign policy. For a period of time, India has also indicated its desire to improve relations with our country. The South Asian countries' above actions are a heavy blow to Soviet hegemonism. But the Soviet Union will never just confine its moves to Afghanistan. The polar bear is bent on going beyond the Khyber Pass in its push southward. For reasons well known, there have existed some actual contradictions and even quite a lack of mutual understanding among many South Asian countries, especially between Pakistan and Bangladesh on the one hand and India on the other. Internal political struggles in some South Asian countries, including national conflicts, are still raging quite fiercely. These conflicts can be exploited by the Soviet Union at any time. It was revealed that the Soviet leaders instigated former Indian Prime Minister Desai to teach Pakistan a "lesson" but was turned down by India. Though this malicious Soviet plot failed, the Soviet Union will never give up. Recently, the Soviet Union has again spread rumors sowing dissension between India and Pakistan and has adopted such tactics as combining wooing, coercion and bribing, or combining coercion and persuasion, and so forth in its dealings with South Asian countries. On the one hand, it promised to provide India with large quantities of military equipment. On the other, it roundly attacked Pakistan's attempt to purchase weapons from the United States. Therefore, though the situation of unity in the struggle against hegemonism is favorable in the South Asian region, it is still unstable. The shadow of Soviet hegemonism still hangs ominously overhead.



XINHUA VIEWS SOUTH ASIAN REGIONAL COOPERATION

OW070122 Beijing XINHUA in English 0108 GMT 7 Jun 81

["Bangladesh Foreign Ministry Sources on South Asian Regional Cooperation--by Correspondent Chen Anning"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Dacca, 7 Jun (XINHUA)--"Cooperation among seven South Asian countries on the basis of respect for each other's sovereignty, equality, mutual benefit and voluntariness, is beneficial to their respective countries and to security and stability in Asia," Bangladesh Foreign Ministry sources told this correspondent recently.

The late Bangladesh President Ziaur Rahman presented on May 12 last year to South Asian countries a proposal for a South Asian summit conference. The president said such a conference will pave the way for cooperation among South Asian countries and for settling issues pending among themselves so as to take a common stand in dealing with outside threat.

The Foreign Ministry sources spoke of the efforts made by the Bangladesh Government to push the convocation of the conference. After making the proposal, he recalled, the late President Ziaur Rahman sent special envoys to explain the aim of the summit to the leaders of the countries concerned. Later, Bangladesh had consultations with the ambassadors of these countries in Dacca on the date and agenda of the conference. At the same time, leaders of South Asian countries were invited to Bangladesh to discuss matters concerning the summit. And on the basis of consultations, the Bangladesh Government was able to draft working documents for the summit, Bangladesh Foreign Minister Shamsul Haq, while attending the Nonaligned Foreign Ministers Meeting in New Delhi, fixed through discussion with foreign ministers of other South Asian nations the time and venue for a meeting of foreign secretaries. All these efforts made by Bangladesh have helped the South Asian countries to embark on the road of regional cooperation.

With Bangladesh's untiring efforts, the foreign secretaries of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and the Maldives met in Colombo to discuss South Asian regional cooperation from April 21 to 23 this year. After full consultation, the participants decided on the principle that all resolutions of the conference must be made by consensus. The foreign secretaries also decided to set up five groups to conduct deep-going studies on cooperation in agriculture, rural development, telecommunications, meteorology, health service and population. These groups are to put forward concrete suggestions to the next foreign secretaries meeting to be held in the Nepalese capital of Katmandu.

The foreign secretaries meeting is the first step toward regional cooperation in South Asia. However, there are still many difficulties ahead, Foreign Ministry sources said, "Bangladesh hopes for an early convening of the summit. Certainly, we are clear that there are still some differences and misunderstandings between the South Asian countries left over by the colonial rule. It takes time and much work to build up mutual understanding and trust and to remove the barriers in our way. But so long as all the parties concerned take a positive and constructive attitude towards regional cooperation, the summit conference will materialize in the end." He said "the Bangladesh Government will continue to work for the early realization of this goal."



RADIO COMMENTARY ON ZHAO ZIYANG'S SOUTH ASIA TRIP

OW102058 Beijing in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 0900 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Commentary by station commentator (Ya Ming): "Struggle Together for the Maintenance of Peace in South Asia and Asia"]

[Text] During his visit to Pakistan, Nepal and Bangladesh, Premier Zhao Ziyang was deeply moved by the warm welcome and cordial reception accorded him. He described his visit as one of visiting relatives. His talks with the leaders of the three countries will favorably contribute to the further development of bilateral relations between China and these three countries.

People have noticed, in particular, that the Bangladesh Government and people, shortly after swiftly crushing an armed rebellion, accorded a warm welcome to Premier Zhao Ziyang. This shows that both China and Bangladesh attach great importance to the Sino-Bangladesh friendship, to which the late President Ziaur Rahman had dedicated himself.

During his visit, Premier Zhao Ziyang exchanged views with the leaders of Pakistan, Nepal and Bangladesh on the international situation in general and on the situation in South Asia in particular. Their talks show that the leaders of China and the three countries share identical viewpoints on many major international issues. They have indicated that they must strengthen cooperation and continue to work hard together for the maintenance of peace and stability in South Asia. Apparently, their talks will have a positive and great effect on the maintenance of Asian and world peace.

As it was pointed out by Premier Zhao Ziyang before he left to visit these three countries, the situation today in South Asia is not tranquil. After sending its troops to take over Afghanistan, the USSR has been deliberately preparing to advance farther south in order to reach the Indian Ocean; therefore, the South Asian countries are facing a direct threat. It is under these circumstances that Pakistan, Nepal and Bangladesh defy brute force, uphold their principles and firmly oppose the USSR's military intervention in Afghanistan.

During his visit, Premier Zhao Ziyang reiterated that China resolutely opposes the Soviet hegemonists's policy of aggression and expansion. He indicated in Rawalpindi that China fully understands Pakistan's efforts to strengthen its national defense in order to withstand foreign aggression and expansion and will give active support within its power.

During his visit to Pakistan, Premier Zhao Ziyang also visited the Afghan refugee camps. He was deeply impressed by the Pakistani Government's and people's efforts to assist the nearly 2 million Afghan refugees. As it was pointed out by Premier Zhao Ziyang, the tragic situation in which the Afghan people are forced to leave their native place and become destitute and homeless is created by no one but the hegemonists, and the world's justice-upholding people must continue to support the Afghan people's struggle against aggression.

During Premier Zhao's visit to the three South Asian countries, both the hosts and the guest stressed the importance for all South Asian countries to promote mutual understanding and cooperation. Premier Zhao Ziyang indicated that, while continuing to develop its friendship and cooperation with various South Asian countries, China also sincerely hopes that South Asian countries will strengthen their unity and eliminate their differences on the basis of the five principles for peaceful coexistence and strive to develop their own national economies and join forces to deal with foreign aggression and intervention.

Friendship and peace are what people greatly cherish. However, what people should cherish more dearly is China's friendship with various South Asian countries, which is so closely linked to their cause of defending peace. Precisely because of this, the Soviet authorities, who have always been engaged in aggression and expansion, hate to see the development of bilateral relations between China and various South Asian countries. That is why the Soviet authorities have mobilized their propaganda apparatus to vilify Premier Zhao Ziyang's visit to the three South Asian countries. However their efforts will be futile and cannot in the slightest degree harm the increasingly developing friendship between the Chinese people and the South Asian people. Also, it cannot in the slightest degree shake the determination of China and the South Asian countries to struggle together for the maintenance of Asian and world peace.

#### NEPALESE PRESS PRAISES ZHAO ZIYANG'S VISIT

OW082048 Beijing XINHUA in English 1835 GMT 8 Jun 81

[Text] Katmandu, 8 Jun (XINHUA)--Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang's visit to Nepal is not only "another memorable milestone," but a signal of "a new era" of the friendly Nepal-China relations, described the Nepalese English daily THE RISING NEPAL today in its editorial entitled "Significant and Successful."

In the past few days, Nepalese press has run a number of articles warmly hailing the fruitful visit to Nepal by Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang. Referring to Chinese premier's visit as the first such one since late Premier Zhou Enlai visited Nepal some twenty years ago, GORKHAPATRA, a Nepalese paper, said that Zhao's fresh visit "is of historic importance for making the friendly relations between Nepal and China still closer and more cordial." "Chinese premier's visit will render an effective contribution to the promotion of peace and goodwill in this part of Asia...and understanding at the regional level," it said.

The NAYA YUG weekly in an editorial praised China's support to the proposal put forth by King Birendra for declaring Nepal a zone of peace, saying that "it is no exaggeration to say that China has fully fulfilled its duty of friendship."

#### Further Report

OW101855 Beijing XINHUA in English 1842 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Katmandu, 10 Jun (XINHUA)--China's foreign policy of safeguarding peace and promoting cooperation while opposing expansionism has won friendship from all peace-loving and nonaligned countries, commented the Nepalese press on Premier Zhao's recent visit to Nepal.

The weekly NAULO DANKO, in an editorial on June 7, said that Premier Zhao's visit has become more significant because it took place at a time when the expansionist policy of a superpower, which carried out intervention in Kampuchea and Afghanistan, was endangering peace and prosperity in Asia and the rest of the world. It said that Premier Zhao's visit to three South Asian countries will definitely help promote unity among the countries of this region and raise their collective voice against foreign intervention and hegemonism. "Efforts made by China towards maintaining peace are highly commendable," the weekly said.

Another Nepalese paper DAINIK NIRNAYA has expressed the hope that China will play a significant role in South Asia in defense of peace and stability.

RENMIN RIBAO PRAISES BANGLADESH FOREIGN POLICY

HK100640 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jun 81 p 4

[Article by Liu Zhengxue [0491 2973 1331]: "Bangladesh Has Scored Gratifying Diplomatic Achievements"]

[Text] In recent years, Bangladesh has been persistently pursuing a foreign policy of independence and initiative. Its political standing and reputation has been enhanced tremendously in the international area, particularly among Third World nations.

Bangladesh is a member of the Nonaligned Movement. It has actively developed its relations with the Third World nations, especially the Islamic nations. It has emphasized national independence and opposed expansionism. Late President Ziaur Rahman time and again solemnly proclaimed: Bangladesh will never interfere in other countries' internal affairs, nor allow any foreign country to interfere in its own internal affairs. Bangladesh has maintained that all nations, big and small, should establish friendly and cooperative relations, while at the same time, it has also been resolutely determined to defend its sovereignty. "If necessary, the people of Bangladesh are also ready to assist their friends in coping with enemies." From this stand, the Bangladesh leaders have repeatedly condemned the Soviet Union's armed occupation of Afghanistan and Vietnam's actions at the United Nations, at meetings of the heads of state of Islamic countries and at meetings of foreign ministers of nonaligned countries. With regard to peace in Middle East region and the just struggle of the Palestinian people, Bangladesh has emphasized: "If Israel refuses to completely withdraw from all the occupied Arab lands (including Jerusalem) and restore the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish their own independent nation, peace in the Middle East region will not be realized." Bangladesh has also resolutely supported the struggle of Zimbabwe for its independence and the struggle of the people of Azania and Namibia for their emancipation from the yoke of the South African racists.

Bangladesh has made important contributions to promoting unity and cooperation between Islamic countries and the Third World countries and maintaining peace and stability in Asia and the world. In May of last year, late President Ziaur Rahman put forth a proposal on convening a meeting of South Asian heads of state to promote cooperation among the countries of this region. The Bangladesh Government has also fully supported the proposal to turn the Indian Ocean and Nepal into a peace zone and build Southeast Asia into a "region of peace, freedom and neutrality." To help speed up the settlement of the conflict between Iran and Iraq, as entrusted by the meeting of the heads of state of Islamic nations, Bangladesh leaders unswervingly shuttled between Tehran and Baghdad to carry out the task of mediation. All these positive activities taken by Bangladesh have enjoyed extensive praise and respect from most of the countries in the world, the countries and people of the Third World in particular.

With regard to the problem of strengthening and developing its friendly relations with neighboring countries, Bangladesh has always maintained that the existing disputes should be settled through peaceful consultations. It has scored gratifying achievements in this respect. First of all, it signed a 5-year agreement with India on sharing the water of the Ganges River and has continued to hold talks in the hope of solving this geographical problem permanently and reasonably. To assist Nepal, Bangladesh concluded with India an entrepot trade agreement to promote trade between Bangladesh and Nepal and provide Nepal with a sea outlet. Bangladesh and Burma have settled their boundary dispute through peaceful means. The problem of 200,000 Muslim refugees in Bangladesh has also been solved. Bangladesh and Pakistan have settled some of their problems left over from the past, thus promoting friendly relations between the two countries. Through bilateral talks, Bangladesh has signed with its four neighboring countries a series of economic, trade, cultural and aviation treaties.



Since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1975, Bangladesh and China have maintained friendly ties. Late President Ziaur Rahman visited China twice. In 1978, China's Vice Premier Li Xiannian led a government delegation to visit Bangladesh. The governments and leaders of the two countries have deepened their understanding and cooperation through their mutual contacts. Late President Ziaur Rahman once pointed out: "China is our friendly neighbor and our country's most dependable friend." Although he was assassinated, his successor, Acting President Abdus Sattar proclaimed immediately: He would respect all treaties and agreements signed with foreign countries during President Rahman's presidency. He also emphasized: "The foreign policies of Bangladesh will remain unchanged." We can expect that Bangladesh will continue to pursue foreign policies initiated by late President Ziaur Rahman and that it will score still greater diplomatic achievements.

#### Bangladesh Leader on Policy

OW051702 Beijing XINHUA in English 1649 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Text] Dacca, 5 Jun (XINHUA)--Acting President Abdus Sattar reaffirmed that Bangladesh would not change its foreign policy. Talking to visiting foreign correspondents here yesterday, Sattar said: "We will honour all our commitments and international agreements and we want to have the most cordial and friendly relations with all our neighbours and other nations of the world."

He maintained that Bangladesh would continue to play its part in the Nonaligned Movement, the Organisation of Islamic Conference and the United Nations. He reiterated that a presidential election would be held within 180 days on the basis of universal adult franchise as provided in the Constitution. "I have discussed the matter with the chief election commissioner and his office is working on it." He made it clear that he himself would not run in the election due to health reasons. The acting president declared that Bangladesh was determined to preserve its independence and sovereignty and foil any conspiracy to disturb the democratic process in this country.

#### Foreign Minister's Comments

OW071916 Beijing XINHUA in English 1854 GMT 7 Jun 81

[Text] Dacca, 7 Jun (XINHUA)--Bangladesh Foreign Minister Shamsul Haq has reiterated that there is no change in his country's foreign policy. Talking to the heads of foreign diplomatic missions in Bangladesh on June 5, the foreign minister assured them that all bilateral, regional and international commitments and agreements will be fully honoured.

He stressed that Bangladesh will continue to widen and deepen her friendly relations with all nations based on the principles of respect for each other's sovereignty, equality and territorial integrity of all nations, noninterference in the internal affairs of other nations, nonuse of force or threat of use of force, and peaceful settlement of all disputes. He said Bangladesh will also adhere scrupulously to the UN Charter, the principle of nonalignment and the charter of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference.

He went on to say, Bangladesh will continue to play an active and constructive role as a member of these international organisations and will not flinch in playing her due part in promoting international cooperation for peace, progress and development.

Turning to the situation at home, Haq said that it is "absolutely normal." All the ministries of the government have been functioning as usual, he added.



INDIA-PAKISTAN FOREIGN MINISTERS' TALKS DETAILED

OW080800 Beijing XINHUA in English 0752 GMT 8 Jun 81

[Text] New Delhi, 8 Jun (XINHUA)--P.V. Narasimha Rao, foreign minister of India, left here for Pakistan today for talks with his Pakistan counterpart on bilateral relations. In an interview with a Pakistan correspondent here, Rao said that India wants a frontier of goodwill and tranquillity with Pakistan. "Any increase in tension is bound to affect our security environment adversely," he said. He expressed the hope that the two countries can work together to eliminate tensions and strengthen the forces of peace and stability.

A PTI report said Rao's visit is in continuation of the dialogue with Pakistan which the present Indian Government has kept up. Pakistan's purchase of arms from the USA, the differences in the two sides' perceptions of the Afghan issue and the regional situation, the steps to implement the Simla agreement would be the major points in the discussions between the two countries, the Indian press pointed out.

## 9 June Meeting

OW090716 Beijing XINHUA in English 0706 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] Islamabad, 8 Jun (XINHUA)--Indian Foreign Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao and Pakistan Foreign Minister Agha Shahi decided today to ease travel between Pakistan and India and to update and revise certain existing agreements as measures to step up the process of normalization between the two countries.

In a statement on arrival at the Islamabad airport this morning on a four-day official visit to Pakistan, Mr Rao said that Pakistan and India should bury their past, mixed with cordiality and strain, and have a more munificent vision for the future.

Their talks here today proceeded in a sincere, friendly and frank atmosphere, the spokesmen for the two delegations said at a joint press briefing at the Pakistan Foreign Office this afternoon. Both agreed that the security of the Gulf was the exclusive responsibility of the littoral states.

While discussing the Iran-Iraq war, they expressed serious concern over the human and economic losses in Iran and Iraq and called for an early solution of the conflict.

The talks today consisted of a two-hour morning session attended by the two foreign ministers and their aides and an afternoon session held exclusively between the two foreign ministers. The morning session mainly covered regional issues, including Gulf security, the Indian Ocean, the Iran-Iraq war, the Middle East, and especially the crisis in Lebanon. Asked if Afghanistan and the proposed U.S. arms sale to Pakistan came under discussion, the spokesman of the Indian side said "not yet."

## Ziaul Haq's Comments

OW100722 Beijing XINHUA in English 0703 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Islamabad, 9 Jun (XINHUA)--Pakistan President Mohammad Ziaul Haq said in Rawalpindi this evening that Pakistan desired to have very close and friendly relations with India, according to APP. Talking to Indian journalists accompanying Indian Foreign Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao on his visit here, the president said that in thirty-four years the two countries had a very chequered record of relations. They fought three wars. Now, he said: "We are looking forward to have a tension-free relationship with India."

The president told the Indian journalists "we are not in competition with India, we have our own place. India has its own place. India is a bigger country in the region and it must play its role. Nobody can grudge India playing that role." He said Pakistan wants a relationship based on firm foundations, honesty and mutual respect and hoped for reciprocal response from India.

He described Rao's talks in Pakistan as "very fruitful" and hoped that this "very frank and free exchange of views" would pave the way for strengthening relations between the two countries.

Speaking on the Afghan problem, he said his country was not interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan "in spite of the fact that we do not recognise the present (Afghan) regime. But our sympathies are certainly with the freedom-fighters."

He denied a suggestion that the United States wanted to fight a proxy war through Pakistan, and said Pakistan could not do it as a nonaligned country. He said, a situation had developed on Pakistan's western borders with the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. Pakistan had to look after its security on the western borders. Asked about arms purchase from the United States, Haq said that all countries had to safeguard their geographical boundaries. Pakistan's proposed acquisition of American arms was meant to supplement the country's defense and posed no threat to any country. "Pakistan has no aggressive designs but wants to defend its own security," he said.

President Haq in Rawalpindi this evening, hosted a dinner in honour of Mr Rao. Rao and his Pakistan counterpart Agha Shahi held the third and last rounds of talks at the Foreign Office here today.

#### Joint Press Statement

OW101400 Beijing XINHUA in English 1348 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Islamabad, 10 Jun (XINHUA)--Exchanges between Pakistan and India have resulted in a much closer understanding of each other's viewpoints, said a joint press statement issued here today by foreign ministers of the two countries. Indian Foreign Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao and his Pakistan counterpart Agha Shashi had a two-day meeting for closer ties in Islamabad.

Both sides noted that this agreement, reached after talks "in a relaxed and cordial atmosphere," constituted a firm foundation for the preservation of peace and improvement of relations between the two countries. In 34 years two countries had a very chequered record of relations and three wars. They said that the strengthening of friendship between India and Pakistan served the interest of both peoples, and both sides agreed to keep in touch with each other in regard to future development of mutual cooperations and international issues.

"Both sides strongly condemned the Israeli aggression in Lebanon and the wanton attack on Iraqi nuclear installations which have created an explosive situation.

"With regard to the situation in Afghanistan the two foreign ministers reaffirmed their adherence to the declaration of the Nonaligned Foreign Ministers Meeting in New Delhi in February 1981. They stressed that efforts should continue to be made for a comprehensive and just political solution of the Afghanistan crisis.

"The two sides reaffirmed their adherence to the principles of nonalignment which rule out participation in military pacts. Both sides agreed that each country had the sovereign right to acquire arms for self-defence. In this context they explained to each other the parameters of their defence acquisitions and decided to remain in touch with each other on a continuing basis."

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PRC INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
SOUTH ASIA

PAKISTAN'S ZIAUL HAQ ON RELATIONS WITH U.S.

OW080712 Beijing XINHUA in English 0704 GMT 8 Jun 81

[Text] Beijing, 8 Jun (XINHUA)--Pakistan "will readily be friends with the United States but we are not and never will be the satellite of any power," said Pakistan President Ziaul Haq in an interview with the American NEWSWEEK magazine released yesterday, according to a UPI report. Commenting on a proposed \$500 million aid package, Zia said there had been no American request for access to bases or port facilities in return for military aid, but he felt "free to extend the hand of friendship to the United States--even though we are nonaligned."

Zia said he is working with the United States out of a "desire to safeguard each other's interests." He said, "If India, the founder of the Nonaligned Movement, buys billions of dollars worth of arms from the Soviets, then we have no reservations about acquiring military equipment from the United States." Zia also said he has no intention of becoming a conduit for American arms to Afghan freedom fighters, but said "the moral and psychological strength of the freedom fighters depend on how strong and stable their sanctuary in Pakistan is."

PAKISTAN PROTESTS DISTORTION OF ZIAUL HAQ'S REMARKS

OW101927 Beijing XINHUA in English 1919 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Islamabad, 10 Jun (XINHUA)--Pakistan today strongly protested against the distortion by Radio Moscow on June 5 of President Ziaul Haq's remarks in his interview with an Egyptian correspondent. Clarifying the matter, a spokesman of the Pakistan Foreign Ministry noted that in his interview with the correspondent of AL-AHRAM, President Ziaul Haq said: "Pakistan would never be stingy in providing every kind of help and assistance to Afghan refugees." But, these remarks were wantonly distorted by Radio Moscow which said in a broadcast that "in an interview to Egyptian paper AL-AHRAM President Ziaul Haq said that Islamabad will not display lackness in providing comprehensive assistance to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries in Pakistan."

The spokesman pointed out that the president's remarks were clearly made in the context of the humanitarian assistance being provided by the people and government of Pakistan to nearly two million Afghan refugees who have fled their homes to seek shelter in Pakistan. Contrary to Radio Moscow's baseless insinuation, these remarks do not lend themselves to any other interpretation, the spokesman added.

MIG-21'S ENTER PAKISTANI AIRSPACE FROM AFGHANISTAN

OW111336 Beijing XINHUA in English 1300 GMT 11 Jun 81

[Text] Islamabad, 11 Jun (XINHUA)--Three MIG-21 aircraft of the Afghan Air Force violated Pakistan's air space in the Nushki area, Baluchistan, yesterday morning, strafing and firing rockets at a bus bound for Imam Bostan from Zahru, says a press release issued by the inter service of public relations here today. The aircraft intruded about seven miles inside Pakistan territory and flew along the Zahru-Imam Bostan Road where they attacked the bus at Umer Shah Nawar village, ten miles from Zahru. The aircraft, which hovered over the area for about three minutes, first made two dry-runs over the bus before launching the attack. The aircraft fired rockets and strafed the bus which was carrying 15 to 20 passengers. The bus was damaged and its conductor injured.



KATOWICE FORUM SUSPENDS ACTIVITY IN POLAND

OWO61824 Beijing XINHUA in English 1614 GMT 6 Jun 81

[Excerpt] Beijing, 6 Jun (XINHUA)--The program committee of the Katowice Forum in a bulletin yesterday announced its decision to suspend holding of any plenary meeting of the forum. The bulletin carried by the POLISH PRESS AGENCY says: "In view of the assessment of the documents and activities of the Katowice Forum under the Katowice Provincial party committee, made by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party at its meeting on June 2, the forum's Program Committee hereby notifies all participants not to hold plenary meetings of the forum of the Katowice provincial party committee, in compliance with the principle of democratic centralism, until the Political Bureau takes a clear-cut position on the future activities of the forum."

The Katowice Forum came into being when some of the members of the Katowice provincial Party Committee met in mid-May and published a declaration and a resolution challenging the theses and the draft party rules prepared by the top party leadership for the ninth extraordinary party congress to be held in mid-July, and attacking the state administration.

The declaration and resolution set off a wave of censure among local party organizations and in the mass media. The Political Bureau met on June 2 and declared the Katowice declaration and resolution unacceptable and harmful.

## Reaction to Forum

OWO51914 Beijing XINHUA in English 1848 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Jun (XINHUA)--Election of delegates to the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers Party scheduled for mid-July is in full swing. Two thirds of the local party organizations have elected their representatives and have submitted numerous propositions, demands and opinions for the congress' consideration.

At its meeting on June 2, the party Politburo expressed satisfaction with the progress of the elections. At the same time, it declared that the views of the "Katowice Forum" were "harmful" and "detrimental to the efforts to cement the unity of the party."

Some members of the Katowice provincial party committee met in mid-May and published a declaration and a resolution. They publicized their view that there existed "right opportunism and bourgeois liberalism" within the ranks of the party and that "the Polish society has become a stage for the activity of forces who are openly hostile to the socialist system and who incite feelings of antagonism against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries." They concluded that the country "is facing a threat of anarchism and counter-revolution," and criticized the party leadership for its "passivity and appreciation (of the demand for reform)" which, they said, "bring in its wake the mounting danger of a revisionist coup attempt."

The Katowice declaration and resolution were published in full in the newspaper, THE STANDARD OF YOUTH, on May 28. This touched off a wave of criticism by many local party organizations which repudiated the activity of the Katowice Forum as an attempt at dividing the ranks of the party, obstructing the process of socialist reform and harassing the preparations for the congress.



The party committee of the radio and television committee said in a statement: "This politically damaging document constitutes an attempt at impeding socialist reform and undermining the unity of the party. This should be regarded as sabotage of the principle of democratic centralism and an attempt to paralyse the efforts of the party leadership."

Ninety elected delegates to the congress in Katowice Province passed a resolution proclaiming that the forum did not represent their viewpoints and appraisal of the situation. The forum, they said, presented a false picture of the country's social, political and economic situation. This would mislead Poland's allies and the pre-congress discussions at home. The delegates called on the Katowice provincial party committee to break off its ties with the forum and stop giving it material, technical and organizational aid.

At his recent speech to the workers of the Ursus tractor plant, Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the party, said, "The line of socialist reform has been criticized from both the 'left' and the right, but it has won support in the party."

At a meeting of the Wroclaw Provincial Party Committee to sum up the elections, Politburo member Stefan Olszowski said that criticisms of the Politburo's work often came from dogmatism and that the declaration of the so-called Katowice Forum was a clear manifestation of this dogmatic stand.

#### TASS Dispatch on Forum

OW051921 Beijing XINHUA in English 1901 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Text] Beijing, 5 Jun (XINHUA)--Criticisms of the theses for the coming Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers Party and the draft party rules by speakers of the "Katowice Forum" were played up in a TASS Warsaw dispatch on June 1.

The dispatch quoted a lecturer at the forum as saying that the theses prepared by the Polish party leadership for the congress "do not show the essence of the crisis Poland and its causes" and that in the theses "there is no class approach to the events now occurring in the country."

According to TASS, it was pointed out at the Katowice Forum that "the causes of the crisis lie not only in the seventies but also in the ten months that have elapsed, beginning from August 1980." "Ten months ago the events in effect caught the party unawares, but then we had a party, while now there has occurred in it a split, factionalist groupings have been formed, the communists have no clear-cut concept, (nor) a strategy in overcoming the crisis."

The Katowice resolution, as reported by TASS, declares, "Poland has become an arena for vigorous activities by forces hostile to the socialist system. These forces rely on broad assistance and support of international imperialist circles, attack--unpunished--the foundations of the socialist system, fan up hostility with regard to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries."

TASS also cites the Katowice resolution as saying that "the leading organs of the state administration are not undertaking a resolute and consistent struggle against the opponents of socialism." It accused the administration of "evasion of resolute actions and adoption of decisions leading to conflicts," which "favor a situation in which the main blow is still directed against the party and leads to a further division."

A REUTER report datelined Moscow, June 1 noted that the TASS report carried "the strongest and most direct attack on the Polish party yet to appear in the Soviet media." The attack "was clearly sanctioned at high level and reflected the opinions of the Kremlin leadership."

CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE SENDS LETTER TO POLISH PARTY

OW111900 Beijing XINHUA in English 1834 GMT 11 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Jun (XINHUA)--The Polish press agency PAP released here tonight a letter from the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party to the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party dated June 5, accusing the present Polish leaders of "concession to anti-socialist forces" and calling upon the "healthy force" in Poland to "beat back the class enemy and wage struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces."

The Soviet letter said that the fruits of the Polish people's revolution is at stake and expressed "the feeling of great concern" over this matter. "From the first days of the crisis," the letter said, "we considered it important that the party should decisively act against efforts of the enemies of socialism who were aiming at taking advantage of the difficulties for their long reaching aims. However, this has not been done. Unending concessions to anti-socialist forces and their demands have led to this, that the Polish United Workers Party has step by step retreated under the pressure of internal counter-revolutionaries that enjoyed the support from the subversive centres of foreign imperialists." "The enemies of socialist Poland...are leading a struggle for power and they are taking over power. Area after area comes under their control." "The anti-communist and anti-Soviet wave is rising. The imperialist forces are trying in a more unbridled manner to interfere in the internal affairs of Poland."

The Soviet letter reviewed the meeting of leaders of the so-called "socialist community" in Moscow on December 5, 1980, the talks between the Soviet leaders and the delegation of the Polish United Workers Party to the Soviet Communist Party's 26th national congress on March 4, 1981, the meeting between the delegation of the Soviet Communist Party and the entire leadership of Poland on April 23 this year and other contacts between the two sides under the Soviet auspices, in which occasions "the daily growing anxiety caused by the counter-revolutionary forces in Poland was stressed." The letter said, "We have said that it is imperative to get rid of the confusion within the ranks of the Polish United Workers Party, firmly defend the party cadres from suffering enemy attacks and defend the people's regime with your own breasts." "We have particularly warned that the reactionaries have in fact put under their control the mass media, the overwhelming majority of which is turned to means serving the anti-socialist activities to shake the foundation of socialism and disintegrate the party."

"We have also sharply raised the question of enhancing the prestige of the institutions of public security and the armed forces at home and safeguard them in face of counter-revolutionary plots. To allow the institutions of public security, the police and the armed forces to be slandered and the scheme at disintegrating them to succeed in essence means disarming the socialist country and leaving it at the mercy of the class enemy."

The letter went on to say, citing names, that "We want to stress that on all the questions mentioned, S. Kania, W. Jaruzelski and other Polish comrades have agreed with our view, but things remain as they are and no amendments have been made of the Policy of concession and compromise. Positions have been given up one after another. Although in several recent Central Committee meetings, the Polish United Workers Party has admitted the existence of the counter-revolutionary threat, it has so far taken no measures to fight it, not even mention the names of the counter-revolutionary organisers."

The letter said: "The most disturbing problem in the recent past has been the situation inside the Polish party. With the party congress only a little more than a month away, the election movement has been showing more and more the characteristics of forces hostile to socialism.... The enemy of the Polish United Workers Party, the revisionists and opportunists have resorted to various tricks to exclude experienced and respected activists dedicated to the party's cause."

"The 'horizontal structures' movement has complicated the preparatory process of the congress and is being used by the opportunists to split the party and plant into the congress persons indispensable to them, and to bring the congress toward a trend in their favor. The possibility cannot be overlooked that at the congress decisive blows might be dealt at the party's Marxist forces to eventually destroy the party."

The letter said, "One thing we want to say in particular is that in the past few months, counterrevolutionary forces have been disseminating all kinds of anti-Soviet feelings in order to write off the achievements of our two parties and resurrect among all social strata in Poland nationalist and anti-Soviet feelings. The slanderers and liars are unscrupulous. They have even created the impression as if the Soviet Union is 'plundering' Poland."

The letter said, "What makes our party and other brotherly parties worried is that the hostile forces in Poland are threatening the interests of our entire community--the close relations, the integrity and the border security of the community. Indeed, they are threatening our common security."

It said, "We maintain that it is possible to save the problem from getting into the worst situation and the nation from a catastrophe," adding "it depends on the mobilization of all healthy forces in the society in the struggle against class enemies and counter-revolutionary forces. This demands that the party itself, the activists in the party and the party leaders must have a revolutionary determination. Yes, it is a task for leaders. Time will not wait. The party should be able and is able to rouse itself, retrieve the process of the event and put the situation onto a correct course before the 'ninth party congress.'"

It concluded, "We will not put aside the catastrophe of the socialist and brotherly Poland and remain silent about its being bullied."

#### POLISH PARTY HOLDS 11TH PLENARY SESSION 9-10 JUNE

##### Kania's Report

OW101903 Beijing XINHUA in English 1852 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Jun (XINHUA)--The 8th Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party held its 11th plenary session here today, laying emphasis on discussing the current developments in Poland and the preparations for the convening of the party's 9th ad hoc national congress.



On behalf of the Political Bureau, first secretary of the party Central Committee Stanislaw Kania delivered a report on "the present domestic situation and the preparations for the 9th ad hoc national congress of the Polish United Workers' Party."

Before delivering the report, Kania told the plenary session that the party Central Committee recently received a letter from the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and the letter was submitted to the session for discussion as an important document.

In the report, Kania stressed the leading role of the party in preparation for the congress and criticized the tendencies rejecting the party's principles and suspecting the innovation. He pledged to convene the 9th national congress of the party on schedule.

He charged the "increasing negative political phenomena" within the Solidarity Union for creating tension, endangering stability and trying to turn the union into a "political opposition body." He pledged support to all trade union activities which are in accord with the union charters and in favour of the interests of the working class. But he warned that those leaders of the Solidarity Union who intended to change the social system should abandon their illusions.

Kania said that the 11th plenary session was convened at a time when the country was facing unprecedented economic difficulties. The government had adopted various measures but could not prevent the situation from deteriorating.

Kania said that the letter of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee was based on the worries over the developments in Poland, the continuation of the economic crisis and the consequences of the situation which the socialist community's security and development might suffer since the Soviet Communist Party bore the major responsibility for the security of the community. He said that the Polish party attaches great importance to the worries and all well-meaning views of the Soviet Union. Condemning all anti-Soviet propaganda and activities at home and abroad, he said: "Poland will thoroughly observe its commitments as an ally as stipulated in treaties signed with the Soviet Union and all other fraternal socialist countries."

Kania denounced the cold war and imperialist forces for making use of the international situation aggravated as a result of the Polish crisis to strenuously arm themselves and take a tough stand on all disputed political issues in Europe and the world.

Kania said that the present situation "does not allow more compromises on any issue. The Polish party cannot side-step the struggle when socialism and any field of the country are menaced." He concluded that "It is up to us, the party, the Central Committee and the Political Bureau" to step out of crises, oppose counter-revolutionary threats and successfully prepare for the ninth party congress.

The plenary session will continue tomorrow.

#### Other Speeches, Activities

OW111946 Beijing XINHUA in English 1922 GMT 11 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 11 Jun (XINHUA)--The 11th plenary session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party ended here at midnight yesterday after a two-day heated debate which focused on the present situation in Poland, preparations for the convening of the party's ninth ad hoc national congress and the letter the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee had sent to the Polish party Central Committee.

Dozens of participants took the floor during the two-day session. Many of them expounded their points of view and even directly argued each other about the guideline of the party's leadership, the Soviet letter and other problems. The atmosphere was tense indeed.

Tadeusz Grabski, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, criticized the party leadership for their inability to rid the country of crises, demanded a reshuffle of the Politburo and the dismissal of Stanislaw Kania from his post of first secretary of the party Central Committee. He said, during the discussions at the 11th session of the Central Committee, proposals were put forth for having a confidence vote on the Political Bureau and its ability to deal with the work before the ninth national congress was questioned. He pointed out, a dangerous tendency is growing in the country, for which the party's leadership has to bear the responsibility. He added, the main mistake of the leadership is that they behave with hypocritical sincerity. "As composed at present, the Political Bureau under the leadership of Kania is incapable of bringing Poland out of its crisis," he said.

General W. Sawczuk, a former chief of the General Political Department of the Polish Army, agreed at the session to the Soviet viewpoint concerning the current situation in Poland as contained in the letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU. "I likewise approve reform. However, does reform mean endless concessions, capitulation, or even at the expense of the fundamental principles of socialism? Where all this will lead us to? Whoever is unwilling or unable to oppose firmly these bad phenomena which are still flooding, he must be replaced by someone else," he said.

Jerzy Kusiak, first secretary of the Poznan Provincial Committee of the PZPR, in his speech said: "Whatever the circumstances may be, one cannot steer himself around the difficult problems nor should he adopt a negative attitude toward the anti-socialist and reactionary forces which are becoming ever more active." He held that "as an integrated entity, the Central Committee has lost much ground for being trusted as well as much faith." "The society is expecting a powerful regime to come about. Such an hour has arrived. At this hour, the weak ones will never enjoy prestige," he added.

K. Barcikowski, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the PZPR, voiced firm support for Kania and the line of the party Central Committee. He said the party program contained in the report made by Kania at the 11th party plenary meeting "is the best line for Poland and the party. It is not at all a line of capitulation but one of struggle." "It would do no good to have another shakeup in the government in such a short time," he noted.

Rakowski, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers in charge of trade union affairs, stressed in his speech: "The only way out for a solution of the tension is consultation, dialogue and political means." "I am only for political means in solving problems," he added. He said the current complicated situation at various levels was attributive to the different viewpoints and appraisals on various state of affairs.

Commenting on the recent election campaign, he said: "New, outstanding party activists are emerging. A historical change, that is, change of a total generation is taking place. This process should not be opposed to."

T. Fiszbach, alternate member of the Political Bureau and first secretary of the Gdansk provincial party committee, stressed: "Under our circumstances, the only correct line is consultation and dialogue." "Departure from this line will be a political mistake, and there will be no end of trouble in the future," he added. He pointed out that "the party still has much strength and reserve." "The important mark of the party's strength," he said, "is a movement of renewal from below. Another decisive factor for the party's strength and unity is observation of the principle of democratic centralism." He noted, "The party's strength must not be doubted. On the contrary, efforts should be made to reinforce it."

When the plenum was adjourned on June 10, the Political Bureau held a meeting. When the plenary session was resumed, Kania reported the result of the meeting of the Political Bureau. He said that the Political Bureau had decided to put forward to the plenum the proposal for ballot on casting confidence votes. Every member of the Political Bureau should be put to the vote and anyone who gets less than 50 percent of the votes should not hold any post in the Political Bureau, he stated. This was followed by a long discussion. All those present showed confidence in the views expressed by Kania and W. Jaruzelski, and approved of the necessity of bringing about unification, firmness and collective action in the party's leadership.

In the name of the party organization of the Plock chemical plant, A. Werblan, member of the Central Committee, expressed "total confidence" in Kania. The members of the Central Committee in the army placed complete trust on Kania and Jaruzelski.

After another interval, Kania proposed that the first suggestion be put to the vote. The suggestion was turned down. The result was 24 votes for, 89 against, and five abstentions.

In the name of the drafting committee, its chairman K. Barcikowski submitted the draft resolution of the 11th plenum. Kania delivered a speech at the end of the session.

#### CEAUSESCU OPPOSES USE OF FORCE TO SETTLE PROBLEMS

OW061820 Beijing XINHUA in English 1515 GMT 6 Jun 81

[Text] Bucharest, 6 Jun (XINHUA)--Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic, reiterated yesterday his country's opposition to the use of force in settling issues between states.

Speaking on international problems in a speech during an inspection tour of Olt County, he said, "There are many complicated problems and grave conflicts in the present-day world. Romania, now as in the past, firmly opposes settling problems between states by military means. We will work for solutions to the conflicts by the peaceful means of negotiation." He declared, "We stand firm in the struggle for peace and international cooperation and will unswervingly strive for the respect for independence of every people and nation, because only under such circumstances can various countries, including our own country, develop at a faster speed, and ensure the welfare and happiness of their own nation." He added, "We firmly hold that the rights of the peoples of different countries must be respected, that is to say, they must be left alone to chart their future of their own free will without outside interference."



KYODO: 'COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY MURDERER' EXECUTED

OW130442 Tokyo KYODO in English 1258 GMT 13 Jun 81

[Text] Beijing, 12 Jun (KYODO)--A policeman supporting the "gang of four" had killed or injured 19 persons in Handan, Hebei Province, just before their trial was started in late November, it was revealed Thursday. According to a report carried by the HEBEI DAILY, the policeman, Wang Xi Wen, was condemned to death and executed as a "counterrevolutionary murderer," at a popular rally held in Handan Wednesday.

This is the first official report made in China on a case of retaliatory action by a supporter of the gang of four, although such activities of a group of sympathizers of the gang were rumored around the time when the trial began.

Wang had criticized top leaders of the Communist Party after the third plenum of the Central Committee of the party disapproved of the Great Cultural Revolution, the report said. Wang allegedly fired a shot at the portrait of a party leader, supposed to be Chairman Hua Guofeng, hanging inside a policebox on the night of November 17, last year, and then killed seven workers and farmers and inflicted injuries upon 12 by firing and throwing grenades.

BEIJING REVIEW DENIES ALLEGED 'DEMAOIZATION'

OW150907 Hong Kong AFP in English 0809 GMT 15 Jun 81

[Text] Beijing, 15 Jun (AFP)--The Chinese authorities today denied that they wanted to "demaioise" the regime in an article published here prior to the coming plenary session of the Communist Party Central Committee. The session is slated to review Mao Zedong's contribution to Communist China, among other issues. The latest issue of the weekly Beijing REVIEW said the "point of view according to which China has abandoned Mao Zedong Thought and is practising demaoisation is without basis."

"In short, what the Chinese Communist Party is actually doing constitutes a restoration and development of the important principles of Mao Zedong Thought," said the Beijing REVIEW, a newspaper circulated abroad. Its views today follow a number of similar statements laying emphasis on the necessity not "to go too far" in the "demaioisation" process spearheaded by the administration of strongman Deng Xiaoping. Observers note that a compromise on the Mao issue has been found for the time being within the Chinese hierarchy. It has come in the form of holding back in criticism of the late founder of Communist China.

Still alleged to have committed "grave errors" towards the end of his life, Mao is depicted by the Beijing REVIEW as a leader "unequaled" in Communist China's history. The so-called Mao Zedong Thought--a combination between "the universal truth of Marxism and the concrete reality of the Chinese revolution"--is "scientific and correct," the newspaper said. It added that "no one imposed it and no one can make it vanish."

For several months the "demaioisation" process set in motion by Mr Deng and his team has come up against tough resistance, both within the army and the party machine. 50 percent of party members joined in the days of the Cultural Revolution from the mid-sixties to the mid-seventies. Other than adopting a document reviewing Mao's action, the party Central Committee plenary session will also herald the stepping down of Chairman Hua Guofeng to make way for Hu Yaobang, the present party secretary general.

AFP: CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENARY SESSION BEGINS

OW150957 Hong Kong AFP in English 0949 GMT 15 Jun 81

[Text] Beijing, 15 Jun (AFP)--A plenary session of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee appeared to have started today, according to usually well-informed sources here. It was not possible however to confirm the announcement from Chinese sources.

BEIJING PAPER ON CHINESE SOCIETY'S CHARACTERISTICS

HK280750 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 14 May 81 pp 1, 3

[Contributing commentator's article: "On the Characteristics of Chinese Society at the Present Stage"]

[Text] Since the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of means of production in 1956, the socialist economic system has been firmly established in our country. This is an objective fact. However, there are some people who doubt whether we can lead our country into socialism under such a low level of productivity. They held that only the socialism envisaged by Marx in "Critique of the Gotha Program" is genuine socialism. Therefore, they are of the opinion that we are still in a transitional period toward socialism, or at most, only in a period of semisocialism. In order to get through this transitional period, we must still make up for the missed lesson in independent new democracy or capitalism. Namely, we must rely on new democracy or capitalism to promote the development of productivity. There are also some people outside China who hold that socialism can only be developed on the basis of developed capitalism. Proceeding from this point, they do not admit that the society in China (not only in China for that matter) is socialist. They also hold that only when there is an overwhelming majority of proletariat can there be a dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, the regime in China is not a dictatorship of the proletariat and can only be called a "communist one-party dictatorship." According to them, ours is not a socialist society, but neither is it a capitalist society. This society "has problems the capitalist society cannot imagine," such as the change of political power and bureaucratization. Consequently, this kind of society is hopeless. Although these arguments at home and abroad represent different stands and starting points, they do have one thing in common, and that is, they all hold that an underdeveloped economic level cannot create socialism and that even if we have carried out socialist revolution we also cannot spontaneously create socialism.

This kind of argument, which appeared when our socialist construction was suffering setbacks and the world capitalist economy was making a certain headway, is the result of the controversy produced by different socialist roads and forms under different socialist conditions. We hold that in order to clarify this point theoretically, we must first take a look at international history.

Engels in the 1870's said: Modern socialism "not only requires the proletariat able to bring about this transformation but also capitalists enabling social productive forces to develop to the extent of completely eliminating class distinctions," and "only in the hands of capitalists can the productive forces achieve this level of development." (See "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 18, p 610) This was the record of an indisputable fact of historical development toward the end of the 19th century, because at that time, the social productive forces could only develop in the hands of capitalists. This fact was later desperately grasped by the leaders of the Second International. They held that there could be no departure from this fact and that only capitalists were able to develop social productive forces to the level of achieving socialism but the proletariat could not. However, there was a change in historical conditions in the early part of the 20th century. Because of the imbalance of the development of capitalism and the revolutionary situation created by imperialist wars, socialist revolution did not "start in certain highly developed countries" but in certain economically relatively backward countries. A striking fact in the 20th century is that the proletariat in some backward countries took the lead in building socialism. This change in the historical sequence of events created a great controversy. Just as Lenin said: The textbooks of the Second International have influenced a whole generation of European philistines. According to these textbooks, the proletariat and revolutionary people of any country should not and also cannot carry out socialist revolution without a highly developed level of productive forces. In economically undeveloped countries, if the proletariat obtains power through such good fortune as war, it should first develop the existing capitalist relations and should not carry out socialist reform.

They hold that, under this kind of condition, the proletariat would be wholly unequal to the task of creating a new social system. "The proletariat is doomed to fail in its effort to carry out this unequal task, and the democratic freedom it has won will again be lost to a new kind of dictatorship." (see Kautsky's "Historical Materialism") We know that the well-known short but incisive article "Our Revolution" (1923) was specially written by Lenin to criticize this bogus historical materialism which in reality can only be called the concept of vulgar economic materialism. Lenin pointed out: Those people who only see the definite path of development of capitalism and bourgeois democracy in Western Europe have reiterated an argument: The objective economic premises for socialism do not exist in our country. "It does not occur to any of them to ask: But what about a people that found itself in a revolutionary situation such as that created by the first imperialist war? Might it not, influenced by the hopelessness of its situation, fling itself into a struggle that would offer it at least some chance of securing conditions for the further development of civilization that were somewhat unusual?" Lenin asked in return: "You say that civilization is necessary for the building of socialism. Very good. But why could we not first create such prerequisites for civilization in our country as the expulsion of the landlords and the Russian capitalists, and then start moving toward socialism? Where, in what book, have you read that such variations of the customary historical sequence of events are impermissible or impossible?" Lenin in particular pointed out: "Our European philistines never ever dream that the subsequent revolutions in oriental countries, which possess much vaster populations and a much vaster diversity of social conditions, will undoubtedly display even greater distinctions than the Russian revolution."

Just as Lenin had said, the closer the revolution moves toward the East, the more evident are the changes in the historical sequence of events. The socialist road taken by the Soviet Union was not entirely the same as Marx's supposition in his "Critique of the Gotha Program." Economically, China was even more backward than the Soviet Union. The invasion of imperialist forces into the East had forced China, this ancient and big agricultural country of the East, from the path of normal historical development and reduced it to a semicolonial and semifeudal society. The Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Zedong applied the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism to the special historical conditions of China and opened up a new democratic and socialist road with more distinctive features for the revolution. This road (including the new democratic revolution) was never mentioned by Marx in any of his work. People with any knowledge of contemporary Chinese history will know that this road was not artificially arranged by a certain political force but by historical necessity. We should point out correctly that building a Chinese-type socialism instead of following the model of socialism based on the supposition of the fixed road for Western European capitalism and bourgeois democracy is definitely not a retrogression from scientific socialism to utopian socialism (as claimed by people who study mechanically) but a creative and vivid realization of scientific socialism under special historical conditions.

The key to following China's new democratic and socialist road lies in solving the problem on proletarian leadership. Without the realization of proletarian leadership, there can be no such thing as new democracy, and still less socialism. Some people are now writing articles trying to explain and prove the "limitations" of the Chinese proletariat. They say that the special feature of the Chinese proletariat is its peasant nature. This is an incorrect argument and it runs counter to facts. Although the Chinese proletariat is small, it has suffered at the hands of both imperialism and China's own bourgeois class and has high revolutionary aspirations. It is located in a number of economic centers in China and its forces are relatively concentrated. The proletariat has been under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party from the beginning and has not been influenced by social democratic reformism. The Chinese proletariat has had close contact with the broad masses of peasants. These facts must be considered primarily as fine and strong points for the Chinese proletariat. Certain negative factors from the peasants and small producers should be considered as of secondary importance. History has proved that in a semicolonial and semifeudal country heavily populated with peasants, the proletariat becomes the political leaders of the peasants.



It has formed a revolutionary united front on the basis of the alliance of workers and peasants and has carried the new democratic revolution opposing imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism through to the end. This not only cleared the way for capitalism but, more importantly, it also cleared the way for socialism.

The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 marked the transition of China's revolution from the phase of democratic revolution, which had the characteristics of the bourgeois class, to the phase of socialist revolution. During the new democratic revolution in China, bureaucrat capital, which accounted for 80 percent of the total assets in the country, was confiscated and placed under state ownership as a state-run economy of a socialist nature. Therefore, the seizing of political power in the country by the proletariat not only shows that the proletariat has firmly grasped the leadership of the state but also shows that it has firmly grasped economic leadership. There were adequate and superior conditions for realizing a revolutionary transformation. Since then, the history of China has entered the new phase of surging toward socialism with great momentum. The 17-year period from the founding of the People's Republic of China to the "Great Cultural Revolution" has been one of tortuous advance which resulted in a brilliant victory scored by socialism in a major oriental country. This important historical transformation which shook the world had an important impact on all mankind.

The victory of socialism in China has been primarily due to the leadership of the proletariat. Under conditions in which the proletariat controls political power in the state, the proletariat has united with other laboring people, mainly the peasants, and exercised leadership over socialist revolution and socialist construction through the state. This is a form of dictatorship of the proletariat. It does not matter how much difference there is in the conditions of various countries or what the percentage of proletariat among the population is, as long as leadership is exercised by the proletariat (through the Communist Party) in a country, and socialist revolution and socialist construction is really carried out. In essence that is also a form of dictatorship of the proletariat. The situation and conditions in various socialist countries are different, and therefore, forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat are naturally also different. In our country, it is the people's democratic dictatorship **UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT**. [Capitalized passage published in boldface] The viewpoint which holds that unless it has the overwhelming majority of the entire population, the proletariat will not be able to exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat, or, even if the people have acquired political power, it still cannot be considered as (or in essence is) the dictatorship of the proletariat, is the fallacy of the Second International which went bankrupt a long time ago. In the first place, these people do not understand what is meant by the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is like saying that the communists cannot lead a country if they do not have the majority; otherwise they will violate the principle of democracy. This is the use of empty democratic phrases to negate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leadership of the party.

China has not experienced an independent capitalist stage. China indeed is an economically backward country. Under these conditions, is it possible to carry out socialist transformation, build a socialist society and then rely on socialism to develop productive forces? Should we add a capitalist stage or allow capitalist economy and socialist economy to coexist for a longer time (forming a so-called "mixed economy") and wait for a higher level of development in productive forces before making the transition to socialism? Does this mean that the proletariat and socialism do not have the ability to develop productive forces and must still rely on the capitalist class and capitalism to develop productive forces? Lenin in the article "On Cooperation" pointed out: Political power in the hands of the proletariat, the power of the state over all large-scale means of production, the alliance of workers and peasants and the leading of peasants on the road of cooperative societies are "all that is necessary and sufficient for building socialist society." The practice in China is another proof of this truth.

The only road for us to take to become prosperous and strong is to first gain the socialist position and then, relying on this position, to develop the productive forces and to build a socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. Moreover, the second road is obviously impractical or just a fantasy. The attempt to organize a "mixed economy" and allow socialist economy and capitalist economy to coexist for a long time not only cannot be done in practice but will also lead to internal conflict in the national economy and disruption of the productive forces. Are not the numerous facts exposed by the movement against "five evils" carried out in China in the early part of the 1950's very convincing proof of this?

The 17 years since the founding of the People's Republic are divided into two stages. In the first stage from 1949 to 1956, we accomplished in a few short years the historical task of the nonstop shift from democratic revolution to a socialist revolution. After solving the problems left over from the democratic revolution, we used steps and methods most suited to China's conditions to guide 500 million peasants and vast numbers of individual handicraft workers onto the socialist road and eliminated the widespread, ancient private ownership. With regard to national capitalism, we used the most civilized "buying out" method, through state capitalism, to peacefully eliminate capital exploitation (the fixed interest paid to capitalists in joint state-private enterprises was extended to 1967). Some people complained that the speed of socialist transformation was too fast. True, the speed of socialist transformation turned out to be faster than we estimated (we originally intended to need about 15 years to complete the transformation). However, it was mainly due to the impetus given by the situation of struggle at that time and was not wholly determined by the subjective desire of the people. As a result of the rational demands made by state industrialization on the collectivization of agriculture, the enthusiasm of the peasants themselves to take the socialist road was definitely also very high. Moreover, the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce was also given a direct impetus by the collectivization of agriculture. In the second stage, subjective one-sided rash advance definitely appeared in the transformation of agriculture. However, despite this, for a big semicolonial and semifeudal country to directly enter into a socialist society was nevertheless a great pioneering feat that changed the face of human history. In the history of major changes in social systems of the past and present in both China and abroad, where could we see such a brilliant example of orderly, civilized and humane transformation? World bourgeoisie, including the most heroic bourgeoisie of the French revolution, had not succeeded in creating such a precedent. After such a profound social transformation, our social productive forces not only did not suffer any damage but instead became greatly developed. This could also be described as a miracle. Between 1949 and 1957, China's total industrial and agricultural output value increased at an annual rate of 14.6 percent (the output value of the former capitalist industry nearly doubled). National income increased at an annual rate of 12.6 percent, and real wages of staff members and workers increased at an average annual rate of 5.5 percent. Unemployment disappeared, social order was good and people took on an entirely new spiritual outlook. The superiority of the socialist system was very obviously shown.

As everyone knows, after 1957 we suffered a major setback. On the socialist road, we were overanxious for quick results and made rash advances. We failed to understand the inevitably protracted nature of socialist construction under our kind of historical conditions. But we quickly corrected the mistake and healed the wounds. Between 1957 and 1966, our socialist construction did not stop but advanced in a tortuous course. It should be said that although there were mistakes, the work we did was basically correct. In those years, just as Lenin said: "We are learning how to continue erecting the social edifice in a small-peasant country without committing such mistakes." ("Collected Works of Lenin," vol 33, p 38) and also learning very successfully. Therefore, by 1966, the situation on all fronts was very good. It is precisely for this reason that despite the violent turmoil of the "Great Cultural Revolution," our newborn socialist system still stubbornly stands towering on the great land in the east.

Judging from history, the stableness of the nascent capitalist system in West Europe in the 17th century and 18th century cannot be used in its entirety as a basis of comparison for our new system (we will immediately discuss this point below).

As far as the development level of the productive forces and the degree of socialization are concerned, our socialism is indeed of a low level. However, it is written after all on its banner: public ownership of the means of production; from each according to his ability and to each according to his work; elimination of exploitation, and so forth. These are genuine socialist principles. These are the socialist characteristics (relations of production) that Marxism (including the book "Critique of the Gotha Program") expounded for us with scientific accuracy as the most fundamental and most important. As for the specific road, form, method and speed of achieving socialism, Marxism never used any rigid formula to fetter the hands and feet of revolutionaries carrying out activities under different historical conditions in different countries. Socialist practice has provided us with this single truth: The level of productive forces is not the absolute criterion of socialism, although in varying degrees it definitely affects or determines the form, method, step and construction speed of socialism. Different levels of the productive forces will develop different forms of socialism. Here, it refers to different forms of ownership and different forms of to each according to his work. Generally speaking, the degree of transfer to socialist public ownership is adapted to the level of the productive forces. In countries where the small-scale peasant economy formerly occupied a dominant position, the creation of a collective ownership form with a lower level of public ownership is of decisive significance to the realization of socialism. Moreover, collective ownership itself consists of different forms of operations adapted to different conditions, including individual labor within the collective economy, the management of private plots and so forth. Here, it is of utmost importance to affirm the socialist character of the collective economy under the leadership of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist state-owned sector of the economy. In denying the socialist character of our society, some people begin precisely by denying the socialist character of the collective economy. They even call the agricultural collective economy, "agricultural socialism," and this is entirely wrong. We know that Lenin had also tried to expound and prove the transition to socialism based on the tentative idea of "Critique of the Gotha Program" regarding the first stage of communism. However, when he came across the socialist reality of this small-peasant country of Russia, he resolutely gave up some of the old assumptions and boldly made a new conclusion: We must and can also first build socialism in an economically undeveloped small-peasant country. He said: "Since large-scale industry exists on a world scale, there can be no doubt that a direct transition to socialism is possible. Possible...and if, owing to the backwardness with which we came to the revolution, we have not reached the level of industrial development we need, are we going to give up, are we going to despair? No, we shall get on with the hard work because the path we have taken is the right one." ("Collected Works of Lenin," vol 33, p 132)

We certainly must not unduly belittle ourselves because of our economic backwardness. The "underdeveloped" concept is incompatible with the "communist" concept. However, it is possible to have underdeveloped socialism and, moreover, it is inevitable to have this kind of socialism in the 20th century and in keeping with the law. Who says underdeveloped socialism is not scientific socialism? There is no inevitable connection between "scientific" and "underdeveloped." They only have a direct connection with the objective law. Underdeveloped socialism will advance toward developed communism step-by-step (through a very long historical period). This is an important phenomenon of the law governing today's world. In the economically underdeveloped countries, the winning of a socialist victory does not postpone but accelerates the overall process of the historical development of mankind. Underdeveloped socialism inevitably faces many complicated and especially difficult problems, which is one thing. But economically underdeveloped countries can build socialism, which is another thing.



The arguments that by starting socialist transformation when the productive forces are backward and when socialized large-scale production is not yet in a dominant position means to go against the law that the relations of production must be suited to the productive forces, to fall into utopianism, or merely to open the way for agricultural socialism and so forth, are all wrong and specious. At least, this is an erroneous summing up of experiences. As far as some people are concerned, they have lost confidence in the ability of socialism to create productive forces, and therefore, may also be described as a sign of utter discouragement.

We have suffered major setbacks, and that is a fact. Marxists should speak of their mistakes without reservation. Not having been through a stage of independent capitalist development, economic backwardness and a large population of whom 80 percent are peasants, have indeed brought difficulties to our construction work. To a very large extent, our mistakes were caused by our lack of understanding of these difficulties and characteristics.

In the first place, we are unfamiliar with or do not fully understand that the success of socialist construction can be more easily obtained under such conditions, but the socialist construction will inevitably be difficult and protracted. The proletariat and laboring people can, without relying on the bourgeoisie (but must take full advantage of all capitalist gains), create highly developed productive forces on their own sufficient to realize socialism and thereby abolish classes. There should be no doubt of this. However, in order to succeed, we must make protracted and arduous efforts. We must discover a path for the development of productive forces suited to the characteristics of our national conditions and solidly carry out work step-by-step. We must rely on the spirit of hard work, the correct policy and science and technology and must not blindly believe in political movements. Socialist relations of production and socialist public ownership must be suited to the level of the development of productive forces. Under the condition of the absolute superiority in the socialist state-owned sector of the economy, the existence of a small amount of individual economy, which provides conveniences for the life of the people, should be allowed. We cannot assume that there is absolutely pure socialism in the world. In short, the more backward the economy, the more time will be required for the building of socialism. For a certain period in the past, we came to grief because we were not sober-minded and coolheaded on this matter. Because we were overanxious for economic results, things turned out just the opposite.

In the second place, we also do not understand that because we have stepped over the independent capitalist stage, we will also encounter special difficulties in politics, in building socialist democracy and socialist law and in perfecting the socialist management system. After the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out: contradictions existed between the backwardness of Russia and its "leap" to the highest form of democracy (or stepping over bourgeois democracy and achieving Soviet democracy or proletarian democracy). These contradictions have resulted in the following condition: "Soviet power in principle has provided an immensely higher proletarian democracy, which has created a model of such democracy for the whole world. However, this lack of culture is reducing the significance of Soviet power and reviving bureaucracy." ("Collected Works of Lenin," vol 29, p 152) China has been through a long and thoroughgoing period of democratic revolution. In the countryside in particular, the effective force of democracy has quite completely destroyed the feudal forces and liberated labor from the feudal yoke. However, China is after all a country with a long feudal history, and even with the destruction of the feudal system there are still many feudal vestiges. In the course of socialism, the contradictions between socialist democracy and economic and cultural backwardness as well as feudal vestiges are likewise interfering with our work. For a long time, we have not understood these kinds of contradiction and have not actively and correctly dealt with them. As a result, these contradictions have for a time had a harmful effect on the orientation of development of socialist democracy and socialist law, even to the extent of distorting socialism, and for a time, added to our difficulties.

At present, there are those people at home and abroad who, in the name of scientific socialism, are talking about or being overcritical of our mistakes, setbacks and failures in certain attempts, reaching the point of denying that our society is socialist in nature. We are not opposed to studies and objective comments, including some criticism on various problems of socialism such as problems in the development of a socialist society like ours and particularly new problems under study. However, we neither approve of dogmatically negating the objective realities of socialism at will, nor do we approve of actually reviving the mechanistic or vulgar economic materialist trends while criticizing a certain kind of historical idealist phenomenon. We should realistically draw lessons from our mistakes and setbacks. What is more, we must learn to change our form of activities from the form of our mistakes. Beautiful and good things are not entirely free from blemishes at the beginning and great undertakings are seldom successful on the first try. In such an epoch-making new cause as socialist construction, there is no basis for saying that we can find the only correct and faultless method on our first attempt. On the contrary, among the problems we must solve, there is not a single one that does not require repeated efforts before we can solve it or before we can solve it properly.

In history, there has never been a new social system that has succeeded easily without suffering setbacks. The setbacks, failures and disasters suffered by the capitalist system in history were much more serious than those suffered by the socialist system so far. Let us take a look at historical facts.

There have been two very impressive bourgeois revolutions of world historical significance: One was the revolution in Britain and the other was the great revolution in France. Although these two revolutions were waged by one exploiting class against another exploiting class, both had been through a long, repetitious and brutal struggle. The British bourgeois revolution was not a complete revolution. This revolution which covered half a century began in 1640 and ended in 1688 with the setting up of a bourgeois dictatorship. The Stuart dynasty was overthrown in 1649 and a bourgeois republic was set up. The toppled feudal nobility carried out a series of restorationist activities and fought several civil wars. In 1660, they succeeded in restoring the former dynasty and a reign of white terror began. Large numbers of revolutionaries were killed and even the corpse of the revolutionary leader Cromwell was dug up and hanged. After more than 20 years of unrest, the bourgeoisie and the new nobility reached an agreement to stage a coup d'etat and overthrow the restored Stuart dynasty. They invited Prince William of Orange from Holland to become William the Third of Britain and set up a bourgeois dictatorship in the form of a constitutional monarchy. However, the leader of the Stuart dynasty escaped to France. With the support of French reactionaries, he colluded with the restorationists in Britain to stage several armed rebellions. It was not until the middle of the 19th century that such activities finally subsided.

The period of upheaval of the French Revolution was even longer. It covered a period of 86 years from 1789 to 1875 interspersed with progress and reaction, republics and monarchies, revolutionary terror and counterrevolutionary terror, civil wars and foreign wars. From the start of the revolution in 1789 to the setting up of the Jacobin bourgeois dictatorship in 1793, the burial of the Bourbon dynasty and the development of the revolution in an ascending line. After the setting up of the French Republic in 1792, the European powers organized an alliance against France and carried out armed intervention. In 1794, the counterrevolutionary Brumaire (July) coup took place. In 1804, Napoleon Bonaparte proclaimed himself emperor. In 1814, the allies took Paris, forced Napoleon to abdicate and restored the Bourbon dynasty. Napoleon quickly regained his power. However, not long after that, the Bourbon dynasty again succeeded in making a second restoration with the support of the allies. In 1830, the restored dynasty was overthrown by the second bourgeois revolution. However, this revolution still could not fulfill its mission. The forces of the old dynasty still organized a royalist group and carried out a long struggle to restore the rule of the dynasty. In 1848, the bourgeoisie carried out a third revolution and set up the Second Republic.

However, the royalist Louis-Napoleon again staged a counterrevolutionary coup in 1852, abolished the republic system and set up the Second Empire. In 1870, the fourth bourgeois revolution overthrew the emperor and once more set up a republic, or the so-called Third Republic. Only then could the situation of bourgeois political power in France be considered as more stabilized.

We hope that the young people who have seen such weird creatures as Lin Biao and the "gang of four" but have not seen the weird creatures of capitalism in history and the friends who hold that socialist society "have problems the capitalist society cannot imagine" will study a bit of contemporary history. They should look back on the history of the rising of the capitalist system 300 years ago, compare the stability and the superiority and inferiority of the two social systems, not on the basis of "imagination" but on the basis of facts and make an impartial judgment. We should note that the rise of the socialist system has only a short history of 60 years up to now. Socialism is not the replacement of one exploiting system by another, but is aimed at eliminating all exploitations and burying the system of private ownership that has existed for several thousand years. The arduous and profound nature of the task is indeed "beyond the imagination" of capitalism under the circumstances. It is indeed unrealistic "utopianism" to say that it is impossible for socialist work not to make a single mistake and not to suffer a single setback. Naturally, we definitely cannot associate the mistakes in subjective guidance with the intrinsic quality of the socialist system. Lenin said: "We are not afraid of making mistakes. People will not become saints because of the revolution. Even if we committed ten thousand mistakes for every one hundred correct actions we performed, our revolution would be great and invincible." ("Collected Works of Lenin," vol 28, p 53)

Marx said long ago: Although the bourgeois revolution of the 18th century was vigorous and dynamic, it was of short duration and very quickly reached its apogee. The proletarian revolution must constantly criticize itself and keep on summing up experiences in the course of its advance. At times it may seem to return to things already completed so as to do them all over again. Things are definitely like this. Our summing up of experiences is for the sake of affirming the great achievements we actually have. This is the main point of our work. At the same time we must also soberly and aptly point out mistakes and all unsuitable methods. Because if the mistakes of yesterday cannot make us see the incorrectness of former methods, then we definitely will be unable to master the use of new methods to solve our problems of today.

Revolutionaries use the weapons of criticism and self-criticism to correctly sum up experiences and lessons for only one purpose, and that is, to achieve unity in thinking, heighten their spirits, unite as one and look forward so as to use the best possible method to promote the social productive forces, realize socialist modernization, strengthen the socialist economic base and consolidate our new socialist system. From the beginning of the 20th century, the backward East has proceeded to set up a kind of socialist production system never attempted by the economically progressive West even up to now. This historical fact has after all already existed. Socialism is entirely capable of changing the underdeveloped economic features and relying on its own power to push the productive forces forward to the level where all class differences are eliminated. There inevitably will be difficulties and setbacks, but the tide of socialist development is after all irresistible.



CPPCC VICE CHAIRMAN'S ARTICLE ON MAO'S EARLY DEEDS

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[Article by He Changgong, vice chairman of the National Committee of the CPPCC and deputy commandant of the PLA Military Academy: "The Jinggang Deeds Will Be Remembered for Thousands of Years--Recalling Comrade Mao Zedong's Great Practice in Opening Up and Persevering in the Revolutionary Road of Jinggangshan"]

[Text] Beijing, 11 Jun (XINHUA) --Half a century ago when the Chinese revolution was still in the developing period, Comrade Mao Zedong set up the first revolutionary base in the countryside and the first worker-peasant Red Army in Jinggangshan, thus opening up the road of "establishing independent regimes of workers and peasants by armed forces" and using the countryside to encircle the cities and finally capturing the cities. This opened a new page in the history of the Chinese revolution.

Today, when we are vigorously marching toward the four modernizations in high spirits, how can we forget Comrade Mao Zedong's leading us to travel the brilliant Jinggangshan road? The great deeds of Jinggangshan will forever be engraved in the glorious historical book on the Chinese revolution.

1. The Opening Up of the Jinggangshan Road Underwent a Difficult and Tortuous Fighting Course

After the failure of the great revolution in 1927, the party led the Nanchang uprising in order to save the revolution. This was the first shot to oppose the Kuomintang reactionaries. Later, the party Central Committee held a "7 August" emergency meeting in Hankou to expose and criticize Chen Duxiu's right opportunist line and to decide on the general policy of carrying out land revolution and armed resistance against the Kuomintang reactionaries' massacre. Under the guidance of the spirit of the "7 August" meeting, more armed uprisings broke out including the autumn harvest uprising and the Guangzhou uprising. However, the then party Central Committee pushed a "left" putschist line, paid no attention to the economic and political characteristics of Chinese society, despised the strength of the peasants, rigidly copied the experience of the Russian revolution and considered only armed insurrection, with cities as the centers as "orthodox Marxism." Anyone who tried to begin development in the countryside would be denounced as having a "petty bourgeois ideology" and "fanatical" at least, or even be accused of "rightist escape" or "ganging up with bandits." At that time, this "theory of taking cities as centers" cost the party dearly.

Everyone except one was drunk. After the setback of the units taking part in the autumn uprising, Comrade Mao Zedong resolutely led troops to Jinggang and marched toward the countryside. This decision was based on the actual situation of the Chinese revolution and adhered to the materialist road of seeking truth from facts. It started the extremely important first step in solving the problem of which road should be taken in the Chinese revolution.

The first meeting of the front committee held at the Liren school in Wenjia city on 19 September 1927 was to make a strategic decision. As the meetings' staff, Comrade Yang Lishan and I had the opportunity to understand something about it. During the meeting, which lasted a whole night, there were heated debates on the army's advance. People like Yu Sadu insisted on "taking over Liuyang and then attacking Changsha," saying that there would be no future without an attack on Changsha. But Comrade Mao Zedong disagreed. He firmly opposed attacking Changsha again and advocated leading the army to the mountainous and rural areas and finding a place to stay. Pointing to the middle section of the Luoxiao Mountain Range on the map, he said: We should become "mountain king" in the place which is shaped like an eyebrow. The northern section of the Luoxiao Mountain Range is adjacent to a big river. The Wuchang and Nanxun railways are nearby, and it is too close to big cities. The physical features of the southern section are not ideal either. The middle section, however, covers the common border of two provinces and is reasonably far from the two provincial seats. Moreover, the warlords in those provinces have fairly big problems among themselves and are not on good terms with one another. There is leeway there for us to circle around.

At first many people failed to understand or disagreed with Comrade Mao Zedong's opinion, asking: What sort of revolution is this where we act as a "mountain king?" But Comrade Mao Zedong patiently convinced everybody. He said: We are a special "mountain king." We are led by the Communist Party. We are the kind of "mountain king" who has principles, policies and methods. He added: China's economy is not balanced. It is also not unified politically and is plagued by many problems. We must find a place where the enemy's influence is weak and survive and develop there. Only by doing this can we achieve something significant in the long run.

Comrade Mao Zedong's words, though simple, were profound and had far reaching significance, and therefore he had the support of the majority. But people like Yu Sadu still disagreed and were skeptical. At that time, Chief Commander Lu Deming (former commander of the guards regiment of the Wuhan nationalist government) spoke to express his firm support for Comrade Mao Zedong. He said: Commissioner Mao is right. If we attack Changsha now, there is a danger that our army would be totally wiped out. At the end of the meeting, most comrades supported Comrade Mao Zedong. Thus, at that critical moment which had important bearing on our revolution's success or failure, Comrade Mao Zedong opportunely pointed out the course for the worker-peasant revolutionary army, which was: March forward to Jinggangshan and start the great strategic move from the cities to the rural areas.

This strategic move of "leading the army to Jinggangshan" is of great historical significance. Since this necessary retreat (during which new offenses were fermented) of the revolutionary forces from cities was closely integrated with active attacks to seize the rural areas, it demonstrated great strategic foresight.

In the course of "leading the army to Jinggangshan," the army carried out the famous "Sanwan reorganization," during which it was consolidated and various party organizations were set up, thereby establishing the party's absolute leadership over the army and laying the foundation, politically and organizationally, for a new people's army. When the army reached the ancient Inggang County, Comrade Mao Zedong called an enlarged meeting of the front committee at Wenchang temple to sum up the experiences and lessons learned in the autumn harvest uprising and discuss the questions of setting up a government of the middle section of the Luoxiao Mountain Range and of carrying out small scale military activities (later called guerrillas wars). After the meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong personally handled the work of dealing with Yuan Wencai, the leader of the local peasants' armed force. He befriended Yuan and his followers and sent comrades You Xuecheng, Xu Yangang and Chen Boming to work at Yuan's headquarters. Comrade Mao Zedong also appointed me to win over Wang Zuo, the leader of another peasants' armed force. Through carrying out the work of uniting with and transforming the forces of Yuan and Wang, our army smoothly took root in the Jinggangshan areas. (Later both Yuan and Wang were admitted into the party). To further expand the Red Army, Comrade Mao Zedong paid great attention to developing the local armed force and instituted the three-in-one armed force system, combining the worker-peasant revolutionary army, the Red Guards [Chi Wei Dui 6375 5898 7130] and the worker-peasant insurgents. Later, the Red Guards and the worker-peasant insurgents played a significant role in the fighting and in the struggle to protect the Red government and build the base area.

During the Jinggangshan struggle, Comrade Mao Zedong, while summing up the experiences and lessons of attacking Chaling, put forward three main tasks for the worker-peasant revolutionary army: eliminate the enemy in battle; attack local tyrants to raise funds; and do propaganda work among the masses and organize them to build a government of workers, peasants and soldiers. During our army's struggle to expand its base area, in preparing provisions and funds for the army, he formally put forward the three main rules of discipline and six points for attention, which were later enriched and developed into the "three main rules of discipline" and "eight points for attention" in the light of experience in the struggle. The presentation of the "three main rules of discipline" and "six points for attention" not only brought the Red Army and the masses closer, but also consolidated the Red Army itself, as they had become a source of strength of our army in triumphing over all strong enemies.

During the Jinggangshan struggle, the struggle in the border area was exclusively military, so both the party and the masses had to be placed on a war footing. How to deal with the enemy and how to fight became central problems in daily life. It was during such arduous and frequent armed struggle that Comrade Mao Zedong, in the light of China's special characteristics of being a big, semicolonial and semifeudal country in which political and economic development was unbalanced, and according to the reality that our enemy was strong and we were weak, put forward the "tactics of guerrilla warfare" that the worker-peasant revolutionary army must follow: namely, the policies and principles for fighting battles, such as "dividing forces to mobilize the masses and concentrating forces to deal with the enemy," "the enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue," and "advancing in a series of waves to expand the area under the independent regime," and so forth. It was in the light of such simple, basic principles for guerrilla warfare that our worker-peasant revolutionary army developed and grew strong, and, because of its strengthening, our armed independent regime in the border area expanded and grew daily stronger.

"An important condition" for building a revolutionary base area "is that the Communist Party organization should be strong and its policy correct." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol I, p 50) Immediately after arriving in Jinggangshan, Comrade Mao Zedong began to reinstate and establish the local party organizations, to deeply mobilize the masses, to carry out the struggle to strike local tyrants and divide their land, and to set up political power wherever the Red Army went, thus establishing an armed independent regime in the border area and creating highly favorable conditions for carrying out agrarian revolution and expanding the worker-peasant revolutionary army.

At the end of April 1928, Comrades Zhu De and Chen Yi led their Nanchang uprising troops to join forces with the autumn uprising troops led by Comrade Mao Zedong. After that, the Jinggangshan revolutionary base area entered its heyday.

Jinggangshan was like a green ocean, and the Red Army was like a red submarine. By organizationally combining armed struggle with the establishment of a revolutionary base area, Comrade Mao Zedong built a revolutionary base area by armed force, and supported the Red Army's protracted and cruel struggle in the revolutionary base area. Not only had the revolutionary base area become a struggle base for preserving and developing revolutionary strength and eliminating the enemy, but also a base for building revolutionary political power. Such pioneering work by Comrade Mao Zedong is unique in the treasure house of Marxism; and his great work of leading the Red Army to Jinggangshan and building the Jinggangshan revolutionary base genuinely unified his respect for practical work and development of revolutionary theories. In addition to his practical attitude of doing work strictly in accordance with practical experiences, he had the pioneering spirit of rejecting unearned gain and, guided by the universal truth of Marxism and in accordance with China's reality, he set the revolutionary course which had the special characteristics of the Chinese revolution. This was an important development of Marxist and Leninist theory.

2. While opening the path to Jinggangshan was difficult, adhering to this path was not easy either. Displaying the great talent and bold vision of a proletarian revolutionary, Comrade Mao Zedong unflinchingly carried out an unremitting struggle against all erroneous ideologies and lines, thus enabling the Chinese revolution to proceed along the right track.

In early March 1928, the Hunan provincial party committee and the southern Hunan special region party committee, which followed the first "left" putschism and which were keenly interested in urban insurrection, sent their representatives to Longshi township in Ninggang County. While there, they blindly criticized the revolutionary base area in the Hunan and Jiangxi border area for being too "right" in its work, for burning too few houses and killing too few people, and for failing to carry out the "left" policy of what they called "making the petty bourgeoisie become proletariat and then forcing them to make revolution." They then deployed the worker-peasant revolutionary army to southern Hunan. As a result the border area was occupied by the enemy for more than a month.



To uphold the correct line, Comrade Mao Zedong, while leading the army in the advance, repeatedly carried out political education among the troops, explaining to them the political situation after the defeat in the great revolution, the nature and tasks of the Chinese revolution and the significance in building the revolutionary base area in the middle section of Luoxiao Mountain Range. He pointed out: A high tide in the revolution will certainly come, and revolution in China will certainly triumph. This teaching was a powerful denunciation of the "left" putschism which ignored the building of the revolutionary base area.

When the Red Army arrived in southern Hunan, it was just in time to see the defeat suffered by the peasants' army in their March uprising in southern Hunan. Comrade Mao Zedong immediately led his troops to cover the Nanchang uprising troops led by Comrades Zhu De and Chen Yi and the peasants' army in southern Hunan so that they could reposition to Jinggangshan and began to rebuild an independent regime in the border area, thus redeeming the losses caused by the defeat.

By the end of April, the forces of Comrades Zhu De and Mao Zedong joined. Despite this greater strength, the Red Army and some people in the border area, having been influenced by the temporary low ebb in the revolution and by the March defeat in southern Hunan, felt that their future was uncertain and sadly intoned "Just how much longer can the red flag be upheld?" For this reason, the first party congress of the Hunan-Jiangxi border area was called at the ancestral hall of the Xie family in Maoping on 20 May. During the congress, Comrade Mao Zedong stressed the importance of building and consolidating the revolutionary base area. He pointed out: We have a "home" now and we should not run around restlessly. We should start "building up our family fortune" here, penetratingly carry out agrarian revolution and strengthen the building of our party and army so that our Red political power can continue to expand. After protracted and repeated struggle the final victory will be ours.

The congress answered the question "just how much longer can the red flag be upheld?" denounced "right" pessimistic thinking and ensured continual development of the Jinggangshan struggle. Later, during the second party congress of the border area and in his letter to Lin Biao, Comrade Mao Zedong again criticized the pessimistic thinking, "just how much longer can the red flag be upheld?" pointing out the cause of such feeling and presenting the famous judgment that "a single spark can start a prairie fire," thus greatly increasing the confidence of the Red Army and the people in the base area that final victory would be theirs.

By the end of April 1928, units under the leadership of Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De victoriously smashed the "joint suppression" operation by the Kuomintang and reactionary warlords. A new prospect was thus opened up: The base further consolidated, personnel strength further expanded, the local civil corps no more able to attack us and quarrels among enemy elements in the two provinces consequently sharpened. Under such circumstances, we should have stabilized our position and become united in solidifying the Jinggangshan revolutionary base. However, the higher authority wanted to launch the southern Hunan operation, another "left" putschist action. At the end of June 1928, when we held a joint meeting at Yongxin of the special party committee, the military committee and the Yongxin county party committee, Du Xiuqing [2629 0208 4842], as representative of the Hunan provincial party committee, and Yang Kaiming [2799 7030 2494], as secretary of the border area special party committee appointed by the Hunan provincial party committee, came to Jinggangshan. Immediately after their arrival, they announced two things on behalf of the Hunan provincial party committee. The first was that "the provincial party committee has decided that the Fourth Army would march toward southern Hunan immediately after an attack on the enemy in Yongxin" and alleged that this was an "absolutely correct" policy and "should be immediately carried out without the least hesitation." The second was to exclude Comrade Mao Zedong's correct leadership and inflexibly order that "Comrade Zedong should move with the troops as the provincial party committee has assigned Comrade Kaiming as the secretary of the special party committee."

The meeting lasted for a whole day and night and the debate was acrimonious. Comrade Mao Zedong held that there was no reason to change the strategy of taking an offensive posture against the enemy in Jiangxi Province and a defensive one in Hunan Province. Therefore, he disagreed with the idea of "fighting back to Hunan" and insisted that the main force of the Red Army should remain along the Hunan-Jiangxi border. Comrade Mao Zedong's opinion had the support of the absolute majority of comrades. Comrade Zhu De also did not support the idea of moving to southern Hunan. In particular, he was opposed to fighting against Fan Shisheng because he had received assistance from Fan Shisheng at difficult times. Our 28th Regiment also was not willing to go to southern Hunan but wanted to eke out a living in southern Jiangxi. Comrade Wang Erzhuo [3769 1422 3820], chief of staff of the Fourth Army and concurrently commander of the 28th Regiment, pounded the table and rebuked Du Xiuqing: "You kid, you know nothing!" In a fit of pique, I said: "Du Xiuqing, if we end with a defeat, I will see to it that you are boiled alive." As a result, the joint meeting made a decision not to carry out the instruction of the provincial party committee.

After the meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote a report to the Hunan provincial party committee in the name of the special party committee of the Hunan-Jiangxi border areas and the military committee of the Fourth Red Army, reiterating the reasons for not going to southern Hunan. However, while Mao Zedong, Wan Xixian [1354 1585 0341] and others, who all had taken a strong and different view, went to Yongxin, Du Xiuqing and Yang Kaiming did their utmost to have the 29th and 28th Regiments join forces, and move to southern Hunan in violation of the decision of the Yongxin joint meeting. Learning of this, Comrade Mao Zedong immediately sent a courier to Lingxian, instructing the troops there not to move to southern Hunan but to return to Ninggang after attacking Lingxian. But, taking advantage of peasant ignorance, provincial mentality and homesickness of the 29th Regiment, Du Xiuqing succeeded in persuading the 29th Regiment to return to southern Hunan. The result was the August defeat. After the main force of the Red Army had moved southward, Comrade Mao Zedong, with a portion of the Red Army, persisted in the struggle at the revolutionary base and frustrated the enemy's attempt to seize the Jinggangshan base. At the same time, after learning that the troops marching southward had been defeated and were in great difficulty, he decided to lead a battalion to southern Hunan to locate the main force. In late August, he eventually joined forces with the large contingent of the Red Army at Guidong township. He called an enlarged meeting of the frontline party committee at Tangwu west of Guidong township, debriefing the situation after the departure of the 29th Regiment, criticized the "left" opportunist mistake of marching into southern Hunan and decided to return to Jinggangshan.

By the end of 1928, on the eve of the war between Chiang Kai-shek and the Guangxi faction, the enemy troops in Hunan and Jiangxi launched their third "joint suppression" against the Hunan-Jiangxi revolutionary base, with Jinggangshan as the center, in a wild attempt to annihilate the Red Army at one stroke. In order to smash the enemy's "joint suppression," the renowned "Bai Lu meeting" was held at Bai Lu near Ninggang which was presided over by Comrade Mao Zedong. Aside from conveying the documents of the party's "sixth congress" and approving the report of the Red Fourth Army, written by Comrade Mao Zedong, to the party Central Committee, this meeting concentrated on the battle plan for smashing the "joint suppression" by enemy troops in the three [as received] provinces. After the enemy was repulsed from Jinggangshan, the war between Chiang Kai-shek and the Guangxi faction broke out. Reactionary armies were then thrown into chaotic fighting between the warlords. For our part, our army availed itself of this opportunity of chaos and reaped the victory of the revolution by developing bases in southern Jiangxi and western Fujian. It was at this juncture that Comrade Mao Zedong at Ruijin in April received the letter from the party Central Committee dated February. The letter made an unrealistic appraisal of the revolutionary situation by saying that our force was weak, that the workers were not well organized and their fighting ability was negligible, that the peasants could receive no support from the cities because our work in the cities had not been well founded and that a number of soviet areas had fallen. It then asked that "our armed forces be divided and scattered in various parts of the countryside" and said "it has been decided that Comrades Zhu and Mao be separated from the troops and report to the party Central Committee."

If we had done so, the already established Jinggangshan revolutionary base would have been in danger of destruction. At this critical moment, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote a letter to the party Central Committee in the name of the frontline party committee of the Fourth Army to present his own views, pointing out: "The party Central Committee's letter is too pessimistic in its appraisal of the objective situation and subjective strength...the party Central Committee asks us to split our troops into very small units and to scatter them over the countryside and orders Zhu and Mao to be separated from the troops so as to conceal the bigger targets in order to preserve the Red Army and mobilize the masses. This idea is totally unrealistic." At the same time, he insisted on not leaving the base and the Red Army and wanted to wage armed struggle against the enemy. Thus, once more he resisted the party Central Committee's mistaken line. Had the party Central Committee's erroneous instructions been carried out and had our troops been scattered and Zhu and Mao separated from the troops, the consequences would have been too horrible to imagine.

From 1929 to the first half of 1930, the situation of the Chinese revolution was very good; revolutionary bases in the countryside were established one after another and the Red Army and the Red Guard units kept expanding. However, just as the revolution was successfully progressing, the leaders of the second "left" adventurist line, dizzy with our victories, again put forward such "left" slogans as "overtake Changsha, seize Nanchang, join forces at Wuchang and sweep the Changjiang Valley" and prepared to greet "the initial victories in one or several provinces." This totally contradicted Comrade Mao Zedong's concept of establishing revolutionary bases.

At a meeting of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee, the leader of the second "left" adventurist line said: "During the national military conference, we have found two obstacles which hinder the development of the Red Army. One is conservative ideas in the soviet area and the other is the narrow guerrilla strategy of the Red Army. The most obvious is the Fourth Army's Mao Zedong, who consistently uses high guerrilla concept." In the Central Committee's letter to the front committee of the Fourth Army, he again slandered Comrade Mao Zedong as "conducting land reform from a peasant's viewpoint." However, Comrade Mao Zedong still persisted in the great struggle to build rural base areas. When the second "left" line reached its climax in August, the Red Army was dispatched to lay siege to Changsha. After the Red Third Army group captured Changsha for the first time, it triumphantly linked up with the Red First Army group in the middle of August. A joint meeting was held in Yonghe city, Liuyang in late August. The meeting decided to set up the First Front Army and the general front committee with Comrade Mao Zedong as its secretary. The meeting also discussed the Central Committee's order on launching a second attack on Changsha. In laying siege to Changsha, Comrades Zhu De and Mao Zedong did not fight recklessly. In the light of the actual situation, they resolutely withdrew the two army groups to the outskirts of Changsha when they could not take the city. The situation was exactly as Smedley wrote in "(Great Road)": "At 8 pm on 13 September 1930, Zhu De and Mao Zedong took one of the most important steps in their lifetime careers. The step put an end to a serious crisis in the Chinese revolutionary movement. They repudiated the Li Lisan line--namely, the policy adopted by the party Central Committee--and ordered the troops to withdraw from Changsha." Then on the 13th, the general front committee held a meeting in Zhuzhou. It preliminarily summed up the experience and lessons concerning the attack on Changsha. It also decided to dispatch the First Army group to capture Jian and the Third Army group to seize Xiajiang and Xingan. At the famous Xiajiang meeting, two questions were discussed. One was whether to continue to attack major cities and important lines of communications or not. The other was whether to continue to attack major cities and important lines of communications or not. The other was whether to cross the Gan Jiang to lure the enemy in deep--in other words, whether to fight the countercampaigns against "encirclement and suppression" in the revolutionary base areas east of the Gan Jiang or in the Luoxiaoshan mountain area west of the Gan Jiang. At the meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that we could not "throw an egg against a rock" in recklessly attacking Nanchang and Jiujiang; that we should move eastward to the revolutionary base areas across the Gan Jiang in order to block the enemy's retreat and destroy him. Comrade Mao Zedong's view was supported by an absolute majority.



Then Comrade Mao Zedong held and presided over the Luofang meeting, analyzed the situation of odds being in the enemy's favor and summed up the experience gained in the two attacks on Changsha and in the struggles in the base areas. He made us know that we should not attack major cities any more and we thus abandoned the adventurist military plan for attacking Nanchang and Jiujiang called for by the second "left" line. In recalling that event, Comrade Zhu De once said: "Chairman Mao's strong points were that he foresaw the infeasibility of the orders issued by the Central Committee in Shanghai and the difficulties in taking Changsha. So he prepared for a change of plan.... When we failed to capture Changsha, we faced the fact, calmly assessed the strength of the enemy and ourselves and were preparing to withdraw to Jiangxi. Nevertheless, the Central Committee did not allow us to withdraw and still wanted us to attack Wuhan and Jiujiang. Some cadres, as well as the majority of the comrades in the Red Third Army group, also opposed the withdrawal towards Jiangxi. So we wandered around for a long time before we could move the troops to Pingxiang."

In August 1932, Comrade Mao Zedong's correct leadership was attacked and pushed aside by the Wang Ming line, and he was transferred to work exclusively for the government. After the start of the fifth countercampaign against "encirclement and suppression," the Wang Ming line disregarded the fact that the enemy was strong while we were weak and fought regular warfare of main force versus main force and blockhouse versus blockhouse. As a result, we not only failed in blocking the enemy attack, but also lost Guangchang, a gateway in the north of the central soviet area. It was at that crucial moment that Comrade Mao Zedong arrived in Huichang on the southern front. At that time, I was working for the Guangdong-Jiangxi military district. Deeply concerned about the countercampaign against "encirclement and suppression" on the southern front of the central soviet area, Comrade Mao Zedong joined us in formulating a feasible operations plan.

He said: In order to preserve the main force of the Red Army, we should move the main force back from the front for reorganization. We should use a small number of troops to fight guerrilla warfare or mobile warfare with guerrilla tactics in keeping with local armed forces and the Red Guards, with the support of local party and government organizations. They should lead the enemy units around until the fat ones become thin and the thin collapse.

Comrade Mao Zedong also said: The countryside is like an ocean and the Red Army is like fish. The vast countryside is where we rest and build up strength. We should cherish civilian manpower, and the masses are the real impregnable fortress.

After we implemented Comrade Mao Zedong's instructions, the situation soon took a favorable turn. The fifth countercampaign against "encirclement and suppression" failed because of wrong guidance of the Wang Ming line. We all deeply felt that Comrade Mao Zedong's way was wise and that we could win as long as we had his leadership.

3. Comrade Mao Zedong's brilliant thinking of establishing the Jinggang Mountain base area and opening up a revolutionary road in the Jinggang Mountains soon spread and won the support of revolutionary comrades. It was like a flame illuminating the course of the Chinese revolution, and it made China see light in a haze after the failure of the great revolution in 1927. When Comrade Liu Bocheng was studying in the Soviet Union in 1929, he read Comrade Mao Zedong's article "Why Is It That Red Political Power Can Exist in China?" and said with emotion: "It has opened my eyes. Evidently the Chinese revolution has a bright future. My confidence has been strengthened." Taking the Jinggang Mountain road and learning the Jinggang Mountain experience were the aspirations of all the revolutionaries engaging in armed struggle then.

Before Comrades Zhu De and Chen Yi organized the New Year's Day uprising in southern Hunan in 1927, I met them at Liputou in Qujiang, Guangdong. In our conversation, Comrade Zhu De expressed his admiration for the Jinggang Mountains. Comrade Chen Yi told me that Comrade Zhu De had long planned to find a place to stay. Soon after the Nanchang uprising failed, Comrade Zhu De began to profoundly realize that our army should go to the countryside, not the big cities.

Comrade Chen Yi was also very much interested in the Jinggang Mountain base area opened by Comrade Mao Zedong. When our conversation went further, he inquired about the details of the local conditions and customs, terrain, materials and food supplies in the Jinggang Mountains and the political education carried out by Comrade Mao Zedong among the troops. He highly praised and appreciated the principle that "the party branch is organized on a company basis" proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong. Soon afterwards, after Comrade Zhu De staged the southern Hunan uprising and dealt a heavy blow at the enemy, he resolutely decided to "go find Mao Zedong." He and Comrade Chen Yi then led the troops into the mountains and plunged themselves into the revolutionary torrent of the struggle in the Jinggang Mountains.

In the wake of the Pingjiang uprising, Comrades Peng Dehuai and Teng Daiyuan encouraged all to "advance toward the revolutionary beacon" and resolutely decided to march toward Jinggangshan. Comrade Peng Dehuai's action had its ideological basis. He took note of this Jinggangshan question between early winter of 1927 and the spring of 1928. He said: "I felt at that time...that it would not work to fight a modernized...enemy without a base. A base cannot be built in the land if the tiller system is not put into effect. On this question I show my reverence for Mao Runzhi [another name for Mao Zedong]." At the Youju conference held in Tonggu after the Pingjiang uprising, he suggested that Jinggangshan should be used as a banner and an example. He thought that this not only was appealing but also would play a commanding role in developing the Red Army so that the whole army would have a leader. As a result, he led the main force of the Fifth Red Army up to Jinggangshan in early December. Later, in the struggle to build Hunan-Hubei-Jiangxi bases, he passed on the experience of building bases in Jinggangshan and south Jiangxi, as well as the Fourth Red Army's experience in mass and political work, thus bringing about a new situation from expanding and consolidating the "armed independent regime" in Hunan, Hubei and Jiangxi.

At the party's "sixth national congress," although the importance of rural bases was not sufficiently recognized, the experience of establishing the Jinggangshan revolutionary base was somewhat affirmed in its resolution. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong said in his "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War": As to whether China's revolutionary base areas and the Chinese Red Army could survive and develop, the "sixth national congress" gave the answer. The Chinese revolution since then has had a theoretical basis. A revolutionary theory is the forerunner of a revolutionary movement; since then the Chinese revolution has tended to develop gradually from low tide toward high tide. The experience of the successful Jinggangshan struggle continued to promote the opening and building of other bases.

As Comrade Zhou Enlai once pointed out: Comrade Mao Zedong "led the troops to Jinggangshan. Places were built up in Hubei, Henan and Anhui and northeast Jiangxi under the impact of the autumn harvest uprising" ("On the Study of the Party's 'Sixth National Congress'"). In the winter of 1928, in the course of establishing revolutionary bases in Hubei, Henan and Anhui, the east Hubei special party committee put forth measures for learning from Jiangxi's Jinggangshan in order to establish an armed independent regime base on the entire Hubei-Henan-Anhui border. This was a plan of important strategic significance. This plan was the outcome of the direct influence of a great example of establishing the Jinggangshan revolutionary base by Comrade Mao Zedong.

In northeast Jiangxi, Comrade Fang Zhimin and others had lost contact with the higher level party committee after the Nanchang uprising; after staging the Geyang and Hengfeng uprisings and proceeding from the situation at that time, they distinguished themselves by going deep into the rural areas and starting guerrilla warfare. Comrade Mao Zedong had highly assessed the move as a "Fang Zhimin-type" "armed independent regime of workers and peasants." Later Comrade Fang Zhimin again, "by following Comrade Mao Zedong's idea of establishing rural revolutionary bases, scored the greatest achievements in establishing rural revolutionary bases, scored the greatest achievements in organizing the party committees at all levels in northeast Jiangxi and leading the northeast Jiangxi soviet in construction in all fields" ("History of the Founding of the Northeast Jiangxi Soviets").

In the west Hunan-Hubei area, Comrade Deng Zhongxia, former political commissar of the Second Red Army group, read Comrade Mao Zedong's "The Struggle in Jinggang Mountain" with great eagerness as soon as he received it. He said in his article published in HONGXING ZHOUBAO [RED STAR WEEKLY]: "Revolutionary bases must be consolidated and developed." He suggested that a revolutionary base like Donggu be established. He corrected the mistakes made by some places in not building bases as arduously as Comrade Mao Zedong did. He also criticized those who did not understand base building but yearned to fight big battles and sweeping military actions as "a policy of rash advance of any army capturing one place and relinquishing another, like a monkey grabbing chestnuts, catching one and losing another."

The document "On Several Questions of Developing the Soviet Zone in Hunan and West Hubei" drafted by Comrade Zhou Enlai on behalf of the party Central Committee in March 1929 gave important instructions to Comrade He Long and introduced the experience of the struggle in Jinggangshan, calling on them to pay attention to strengthening party and Red Army building.

Summing up the lesson learned from the failure of the early armed struggle on the Hunan-Hubei border in 1928, Comrade He Long noted that fighting by the old method could not accomplish anything. Hearing that Comrade Mao Zedong had put forth a "sixteen-character formula" for guerrilla warfare in summing up the struggle in Jinggangshan, he said, patting his thigh: "We have found a way!" In a report to the party Central Committee, he stressed that the principle of military operations must be guided by Comrade Mao Zedong's military principles. By flexibly applying these principles, he won one battle after another, giving vigorous impetus to military struggle in the bases.

The Zuojiang and Youjiang bases led by Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Zhang Yunyi, and the north Shaanxi base led by Comrades Liu Zhidan and Xie Zichang all followed the Jinggangshan road. This was generally true in other bases throughout the country. In spite of their own conditions and characteristics, most bases built themselves up by drawing on the successful experience of the Jinggangshan revolutionary base. The Jinggangshan base became a big school for passing on the experience of establishing "an armed independent regime of workers and peasants." By the first half of 1930, the regular Red Army throughout the country had developed to about 100,000 men, and rural Red political powers had been established in 15 large and small places. The situation was developed like a single spark starting a prairie fire. Later Comrade Mao Zedong summed up the experience of revolutionary struggle during this period comprehensively and systematically, providing the answer as to why Red political power could exist in the rural areas and creating with originality the great thinking of establishing "an armed independent regime of workers and peasants." This was the three-in-one theory under the leadership of the proletariat, with armed struggle as the main form, the bases as the support and agrarian reform as the basic contents; it was also the road of encircling the cities from the rural areas and then capturing them which was revealed as the objective law of carrying out democratic revolution in semifeudal and semi-colonial China. It was a universal truth applicable to all bases throughout China. The great victory of China's democratic revolution has fully verified the correctness of this theory.



ANHUI'S ZHANG JINGFU ADDRESSES LITERARY, ART GROUP

OW131014 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Jun 81

[Excerpts] On 6 June the Anhui provincial literary and art circles held a meeting in Hefei to congratulate writers of prize-winning literary works. This was meant to commend the advanced, encourage literary and art creation, and bring about new developments in literary and art work.

Attending the meeting were more than 600 people, including the responsible comrades of the provincial federation of literary and art circles, the provincial culture bureau, and federations of literary and art circles and culture bureaus at prefectural and municipal levels; cadres in literary and art creation; and members of the various societies of the provincial federation of literary and art circles residing in Hefei. Also attending the meeting were responsible comrades of the provincial CCP Committee's Propaganda Department, the provincial publications bureau, the provincial broadcasting affairs bureau, the provincial trade union council, the provincial CYL Committee, the provincial women's federation and the provincial scientific and technological association.

Responsible comrades of the provincial CCP Committee, the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee and the provincial people's government Zhang Jingfu, Gu Zhuoxin, Zhou Zijian, (Yan Youmin), Lan Ganting and (Yuan Zhen) attended the meeting and shook hands with the prizewinners to extend their congratulations. A joyous mood prevailed in the meeting hall in celebration of the fruitful results in literary creation. Chen Dengke, vice chairman of the provincial federation of literary and art circles, presided over the meeting.

Zhang Jingfu, first secretary of the Anhui Provincial CCP Committee, delivered an important speech at the meeting. He extended his warm congratulations to the prize-winning comrades on behalf of the provincial CCP Committee.

Reviewing the excellent literary and art situation in Anhui Province since the smashing of the gang of four, especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, Comrade Zhang Jingfu said: Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, literary and art workers in the province have experienced ease of mind, enlivened their thinking, shown courage in breaking taboos, manifested great enthusiasm for literary and art creation, and produced good or fairly good works in literature, motion pictures, drama, art and photography. These works have played a positive role in smashing the mental shackles imposed by Lin Biao and the gang of four, eliminating their pernicious influence, emancipating the minds, boosting the spirit, encouraging the people to work for the four modernizations with one heart and soul, and enriching the people's socialist cultural lives.

In his speech, Zhang Jingfu said: Some problems have also arisen under this excellent situation, which deserves our attention. Comrades in the literary and art circles should deal earnestly with these problems, properly sum up experiences, affirm achievements, and overcome shortcomings so as to facilitate further progress.

Comrade Zhang Jingfu earnestly hoped that comrades in the literary and art circles would persist in studying Marxist theory; echo the people's voices from an elevated position of our times; reach out into real life; create profound, lifelike and moving works; firmly implement the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend;" actively carry out literary and art critiques; modestly listen to comments from all sectors; accept useful opinions; help and learn from one another; unite; and look toward the future.

In conclusion Comrade Zhang Jingfu said, with deep emotion: To be frank with you comrades, I am doing the party's work and do not know much about literary and art creation. But we are aware of the importance of literature and art. Good works and talent are invaluable.

I am really happy with the fact that flowers are blooming in the garden of literature and art and that talented people are emerging on this front. We will refrain from hampering comrades in the literary and art circles, but will give them our assistance. This is our duty. By assistance, we mean not only to support and commend the good works, but also to criticize the faulty and erroneous ones. He hoped that all comrades would develop their strong points, sum up experiences, guard against arrogance and rashness, be modest and prudent, boost their spirit, make great efforts in literary and art creation, work laboriously for a flourishing literature and art during the new socialist period, and provide the people with the best spiritual nourishment.

JIANGSU PARTY COMMITTEE MEETING ON EMPLOYMENT

OW131441 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 12 Jun 81

[Text] From now on, stress should be put on developing collective enterprises and individual trade in solving the employment problem. More avenues should be opened to arrange jobs for the unemployed in order to gradually change the practice of the state arranging all jobs for people. This was emphasized at a recent meeting of the Standing Committee of the provincial party committee where the employment question was discussed.

According to the opinions of the leading comrades of the provincial party committee, the general office of the provincial party committee and the provincial labor bureau organized a joint investigation team to acquaint itself with the situation in Nanjing Municipality's Gulou and Qinhuai districts, where more avenues have been opened for arranging jobs for the unemployed. This investigation team visited 9 individual-owned shops and 14 neighborhood enterprises on a selective basis and held discussions with the personnel concerned, in order to hear their opinions and requests and to understand the operation and income of collective enterprises and individual-owned shops. The team also discussed with them the problems facing them and how to solve such problems.

The provincial party committee held a meeting of its Standing Committee, with leading comrades of the concerned provincial departments and Nanjing Municipality's Gulou district present as observers. After hearing and discussing a report by the investigation team at the meeting, the provincial party committee held: arranging jobs for people is an important matter which has a bearing on the overall situation. It is very difficult to solve this problem. When this problem is properly handled, it will help promote the development of the four modernizations. If it is not handled properly, it will affect the further readjustment of the national economy and political stability.

The meeting pointed out that in solving the employment problem, it is of fundamental importance for us to emancipate our minds and to unswervingly implement the party Central Committee's policy of arranging jobs for people by the labor departments, organizing people to work, and people finding jobs for themselves under the unified leadership of the government. It is necessary to vigorously develop collectively owned enterprises and the individual economy. Efforts should be made mainly to develop repair and service trades, not processing industries.

All departments should give a green light to the vigorous development of collectively owned enterprises and the individual economy. They should support collectively owned enterprises and the individual economy in policy. It is also necessary to prepare public opinion for the vigorous development of collectively owned enterprises and the individual economy and to publicize both the collective and individual economies being components of a socialist society's economy. Newspapers, magazines and the radio should step up their propaganda and reporting in this regard.

The meeting decided to set up a leading group under the leadership of Comrade Hu Hong and with the participation of leading comrades of the Nanjing municipal and Gulou district party committees. A breakthrough should be made first in Nanjing Municipality's Gulou district in carrying out the party Central Committee's employment policy, and experiences gained in this regard should be popularized step by step.

JIANGSU'S XU JIATUN ON PRODUCTION RESPONSIBILITY

OW141132 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Jun 81

[Excerpts] Addressing the Jiangsu provincial-level office cadres report meeting on the afternoon of 11 June, Comrade Xu Jiatun, first secretary of the provincial CCP Committee, said: Since the various forms of production responsibility system were universally adopted, the rural situation throughout the province has developed more rapidly and satisfactorily than was expected. A new and overall development and transformation is taking place in agricultural production and rural construction. Leaders at all levels should match their thinking, work styles and methods of work with this transformation.

Now is the busy season of the four summer farm tasks. All kinds of responsibility systems in the rural areas should be stabilized. It is necessary to firmly carry out the arrangements discussed and endorsed by the masses with regard to the methods of rewarding the reparation and the early distribution of summer harvests.

In May Comrade Xu Jiatun led a factfinding group to investigate 15 counties in northern and southern Jiangsu. They focused their investigation on 15 different types of rural people's communes, made village-to-village and house-to-house calls and held discussion meetings. In Sihong County's (Shangtang) commune, formerly the poorest commune in the province, cadres and peasants said: We never dreamed that we could make such a big improvement in 2 years by fixing farm output quotas for each household.

What are the reasons for such a rapid and satisfactory development in the rural situation? Comrade Xu Jiatun said: Most importantly, we have gradually done away with the shackles of leftist guiding thought since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. The guidelines of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee have been instrumental. So have the principles and policies formulated by the party since the 3d plenary session of its 11th Central Committee.

Comrade Xu Jiatun said: Whether it is fixing farm output quotas for each household or individual labor, or signing contracts for specialized production with farm output quotas fixed for each job group, all responsibility systems are established on the basis of the unified functions of the production team. They are a form of managing the collective economy. They are socialist in nature. After the establishment of the agricultural production responsibility systems, surplus labor in rural areas needs to be channeled elsewhere. Hence the urgency and importance of developing a diversified economy. Developing a diversified economy and establishing agricultural production responsibility systems are important matters that concern the overall situation in economic readjustment and stability and unity. Leaders at all levels should earnestly attend to this work.

At the report meeting, Comrade Xu Jiatun stressed: Having been to the grassroots this time, I deeply feel that we have not really understood the actual situation. We have underestimated the transformation in rural areas. We should swiftly keep up with the current situation so as to guide this transformation well.

The establishment of agricultural production responsibility systems and the development of a diversified economy are fundamental readjustments and reformations in rural production relations and agricultural economic structure. Newly emerging situations need to be studied, and newly arising problems need to be solved. Their impact is not confined to rural areas. Work in many fields and departments in urban areas is also affected. Obviously the old leadership styles and methods of work are not in line with the rapidly developing situation. We should study anew, conduct indepth investigations and studies, and change situations in which investigators do not make decisions and decisionmakers do not investigate.



JIANGXI HOLDS MEETING ON DIVERSIFIED ECONOMY

OW130005 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Excerpt] Since 8 June the Jiangxi Provincial People's Government has held a provincial work meeting on rural diversified economy in Nanchang. The meeting is to further implement the guidelines of the "circular on actively developing rural diversified economy" issued by the party Central Committee and the State Council, sum up and exchange the experience of various localities in developing diversified economy, study relevant policies and discuss how to strengthen leadership over the development of diversified economy.

Over the past few days, the participants, divided into groups, have studied the instructions issued by leading comrades of the party Central Committee and the State Council on the development of diversified economy and relevant documents. A plenary session was held in the morning on 9 June. Leading comrades of the provincial party committee, People's Congress Standing Committee and people's government attended the plenary session. They included Bai Dongcai, (Liu Zhonghou), Li Fangyuan, Wang Shixian, Wang Zhaorong and Zhang Guozhen. Also present were some 400 others, including responsible comrades of various prefectures, municipalities and counties, directors of prefectural and municipal supply and marketing cooperatives, responsible comrades of various provincial committees, offices, departments and bureaus and experts from various professions concerned.

At the meeting, Comrade Zhang Guozhen delivered a speech entitled: "Actively Develop Diversified Economy and Make the Peasants in Jiangxi Well-Off Soon." He analyzed the fundamental situation of Jiangxi's agricultural production, pointed out existing problems and presented a plan and views for developing diversified economy in Jiangxi.

JIANGXI MEETING STRESSES PROMOTING YOUNG CADRES

OW130239 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Jun 81

[Excerpts] According to a JIANGXI RIBAO report, the Jiangxi Provincial CCP Committee recently convened a meeting for directors of the various prefectural and municipal organization departments. The meeting called for further eliminating the influence of leftist ideas on cadres' work and continuing to do well the job of training and promoting the outstanding middle-aged and young cadres so that the leading bodies will be composed of younger and more knowledgeable and professional cadres.

The directors of the prefectural and municipal organization departments seriously studied the guidelines of the responsible comrades of the central authorities on accelerating the training and promotion of middle-aged and young cadres. They also reviewed the situation in Jiangxi Province in this respect.

The directors held that since the party's 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the province's various party organizations have widely publicized the party's organization line in the new period and formulated programs for training and promoting the outstanding middle-aged and young cadres. A namelist of cadres in reserve was drawn up and a number of outstanding middle-aged and young cadres were promoted. As a result, the average age of the leading bodies has been lowered, their cultural level enhanced and the number of personnel with professional knowledge has increased. The meeting held that to train and to promote the outstanding middle-aged and young cadres is to ensure the implementation of the party's political line and is an important strategic organizational policy. Therefore, it is essential to pay close attention to and continue to do the job well.

SHANDONG MILITARY SPONSORS PHILOSOPHICAL TRAINING

SK121102 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 11 Jun 81

[Excerpts] The Shandong provincial military district party committee recently sponsored rotational training courses for cadres at and above regimental level to study philosophical works by Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong and relevant documents of the party.

The courses utilized the method of combining theory with practice so as to deepen understanding of the guidelines of the 3d plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee and to further realize the importance of implementing the party's line, principles and policies.

After a month the first rotational training course for leading cadres of the provincial military district at and above regimental level helped solve the following issues:

1. Laying a foundation for the study of dialectical materialism and, in terms of subjective and objective unity, deepening the people's understanding of the correctness of the party's line, principles and policies.
2. Mastering the ideology of materialist dialectics and, with a constant, broad and comprehensive viewpoint, eliminating the leftist and rightist influence.
3. Applying the theory of materialist concept of history and the role of the people and individuals in historical development so as to correctly understand and treat revolutionary leaders.

#### SHANDONG'S BAI RUBING ARTICLE ON AFFORESTATION

SK130804 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 12 Jun 81

[Report on DAZHONG RIBAO 13 June article by provincial First Secretary Bai Rubing: "Exploit the Strong Points of Flatlands and Accelerate Afforestation": article was originally published by ZHONGGUO NONGYE ZHAZHI [CHINA FORESTRY MAGAZINE]]

[Excerpts] The article focuses on three major issues: 1) Afforestation is important in controlling drought and waterlogging, preventing windstorms and preventing the soil from becoming sandy and alkaline; 2) it is important to ensure timber self-sufficiency; and 3) it is important for peasants to become prosperous.

The article states: There are 4.87 million mu of forests in the province's flatlands. Individuals and collectives in areas with a successful afforestation record are usually more prosperous than other areas. Some people say: If you want to become prosperous, plant trees. If you have more trees, you will have more grain, livestock and cash.

This not only reflects the law of nature but also the law of the economy. Thirty years of experiences--good and bad--have shown us that we must vigorously promote forestry. To promote forestry, we must understand the importance of forestry, eliminate the influence of leftist ideology, act according to the laws of nature and the economy and put forestry on a par with agriculture and livestock production. Leadership at provincial and prefectural levels on down should personally attend to forestry and help deal with the many problems in forestry development.

The article states: The goal of our afforestation drive is to achieve a 20 percent forest coverage rate by the end of this century. It now 9.2 percent. By then, the forest coverage rate in mountainous areas should be as high as 40 percent; in flatlands it should reach 15 percent.

#### SHANGHAI PREPARES FOR 1911 REVOLUTION CELEBRATIONS

OW130226 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 12 Jun 81

[Text] The Shanghai municipal preparatory committee for celebrating the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution held its first meeting at the municipal CPPCC auditorium on the afternoon of 12 June. The meeting discussed how to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution in Shanghai. Chen Guodong, chairman of the preparatory committee, presided. Zhang Chenzong, vice chairman of the preparatory committee, read a draft program on commemorative activities in celebration of the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution. Vice Chairman Zhao Zukang reported on the initial preparatory work.

Members of the preparatory committee engaged in lively discussions and adopted a program for commemorative activities. The program decided that Shanghai will hold a commemorative meeting in celebration of the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution and a tea party for the elders of the revolution. The program also decided to organize historians to write essays to be presented at the academic symposium in Wuhan marking the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution and to compile and publish special collections of commemorative articles and related books. According to the program, the graveyards of the revolutionary martyrs Song Jiaoren and Zhou Rong will be renovated and tours will be organized to pay tribute to Dr Sun Yat-sen's native home and to visit the historical site of the revolution.

The meeting discussed and appointed Hu Lijiao as an additional vice chairman of the preparatory committee. The meeting also appointed (Shen Zhiyi), (Li Chongguang), (Hu Boheng), (Gao Liheng) and (Chai Chuian) as members of the preparatory committee.

Attending today's meeting were vice chairmen of the preparatory committee: Lu Yudao, Liu Jingji, Chen Yi, Song Richang, Su Buqing, Wang Daohan. Zhou Gucheng, Hu Lijiao, Zhao Xingzhi, Zhao Zukang, Xia Zhengnong and Jing Renqiu.

#### SHANGHAI AIR FORCE UNITS IMPROVE COMBAT CAPABILITY

OW141238 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0208 GMT 14 Jun 81

[Report by XINHUA reporters Zhao Qi and Cai Shanwu and correspondent Sun Zhenchang]

[Excerpts] Shanghai, 14 Jun (XINHUA)--The party committee of the PLA Air Force units stationed in Shanghai, maintaining close ties with the masses, has united and led cadres and fighters in stepping up the modernization of these units in accordance with the line laid down by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee.

Early this year, at a meeting of party members working in an office to study the documents of the central work conference, Song Chaoshi, secretary of the party committee and political commissar of the air force units, took the lead in dealing with the harmfulness and manifestations of "leftism." Every time he went to stay at a selected unit to help improve its work, he always proceeded from reality and realistically handled problems in army building.

Han Decai, deputy secretary of the party committee, is a combat hero of the air force. Since assuming the command of the air force units, he has never claimed credit for himself or become arrogant. He has always guarded against the evil practice of seeking special privileges and acting as a bureaucrat and an overlord. Every time he comes back from an inspection of units, he briefs the leader of his party group on what is on his mind. When he returned to his office in March this year after taking flight training along with other pilots for more than a month, he discussed his experience in flight training at a meeting of his party group.

All the combat regiments of these air force units have now reached the "A" standard. The firing practice of the antiaircraft artillery unit has been rated as "excellent" for 2 consecutive years, thus setting a record. The combat capabilities of the ground-to-air missile, radar and other units have also noticeably increased.

#### ARTICLE ON PUNISHING THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR ACCIDENTS

HK130136 Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jun 81 p 4

[Article by Li Jiling [2621 3444 6875]: "Questions on Meting Out Punishment for Accidents Involving Major Economic Responsibilities"]

[Text] The practice of using legal means to punish offenders responsible for losses due to accidents involving major economic responsibilities has played an important role in promoting the four modernizations.



In recent years and in accordance with the law, judicial departments have duly punished offenders who are responsible for losses due to accidents which seriously harmed the economy such as sabotaging production equipment, acts of arson, the setting off of explosions, damaging goods, causing collisions and capsizing of ships, negligence leading to the mildewing and rotting of grain and other important materials, causing severe environmental pollution, and so forth. This practice has lead the people to pay greater attention and had a great social influence.

However, there exists a divergence of views on the way to mete out punishment to those responsible for accidents involving major economic responsibilities. Some people maintain that these offenders should be severely punished. They believe that if we fail to take vigorous measures to punish spendthrifts of socialism, we will not have any bad examples to use. Some people in the units where these incidents occurred or personnel in charge of economic departments often take objection to the practice of punishing offenders according to law, and even flagrant ones, who are responsible for accidents. Some of them even adopt the method of "resigning under protest" to show their displeasure. I would like to express my view on this subject.

How should the offenders responsible for accidents involving major economic responsibilities be punished? We should, first of all, study the nature of their conduct. Judging from the consequences of these accidents involving major economic responsibilities, we know that they caused our country and people enormous economic losses amounting to tens of thousands of yuan and even harmed people's lives. Their harm to society is no less than that caused by graft and embezzlement. Articles 114 and 115 of the "criminal law" on handling cases involving harm to public safety and Article 187 and others on handling cases of dereliction of duty specifically stipulate the punishments to be meted out. Whenever the law is applicable, we should implement it. If we still follow outmoded rules today and fail to legally bring to account offenders responsible for serious accidents and only apply disciplinary sanctions against them, or indulge them and in effect do not deal with these cases against them, but leave them resolved, these wrongdoings will certainly be detrimental to reducing the number of such accidents and strengthening the socialist legal system.

However, must we arrive at the conclusion that offenders responsible for accidents involving major economic responsibilities should all be severely punished? The answer is no. The reason is that offenses involving major economic responsibilities are generally unpremeditated offenses which are different from intentional crimes that are the results of criminals' subjective motives and purposes. As stipulated by our "criminal law," the punishment for unpremeditated offenses is different from that for intentional crimes. For example, Article 106 of the "criminal law" points out: "Any act of arson, deliberate sabotaging of dams, setting off of explosions, using poisons or other dangerous methods resulting in serious injury and death and causing great loss of public property will be punishable by fixed-term imprisonment of not less than 10 years, life imprisonment or the death penalty. Unpremeditated offenses of the above categories will be punishable by fixed-term imprisonment or detention of not more than 7 years." It is obvious that although the consequences are the same, the punishments are different on account of the basic nature of the offenses. The accident of the Bohai No 2 oil rig caused enormous losses to the property of our country and the people. However, the defendant Ma Jixiang and the defendant Wang Zhaozhu were separately punished by fixed-term imprisonment of 3 years with 3 years' probation. They were punished in this manner because the basic nature of their offense was taken into account. Therefore, while dealing with accidents involving major economic responsibilities, we should avoid the tendency of replacing legal sanctions with disciplinary ones and the tendency of meting out severe punishments without taking into account the circumstances or causes.

While at the same time, we should also realize that apart from offenders' faults, a number of accidents involving economic responsibilities are connected with historical and subjective factors. Working against rules and regulations ranks first among causes of these accidents and is directly related to the 10 chaotic years. Some effective rules and regulations in factories, mines or other enterprises were severely sabotaged and the practice of working against them is still common. Therefore, the following phenomenon is prevalent: when nothing happens, people pay no attention to the practice of working against rules and regulations. However, when an accident does occur, those who are responsible for it are treated as criminals. Furthermore, these accidents cannot be separated from the protracted "leftist" influence over economic work and the incorrect approach of concentrating on production quotas alone while ignoring production safety. The annual production capability of a converter shop in an iron and steel mill was 72 tons, but its annual production output has reached 120 tons in recent years. As a result, the number of accidents involving major economic responsibilities in this mill is greater than in factories in general. In addition, cadres are not familiar with their vocational work because of their frequent transfers. Some staff members operate machines before they have received proper training in production safety. All these are closely connected with high occurrence of accidents. Of course, the objective factors which have contributed to accidents involving major economic responsibilities cannot replace or cancel out the responsibility of the offenders. However, very often these factors cannot be solved by the offenders themselves for a period of time. There is no doubt that while meting out punishments, we should take these factors into consideration. Only thus can the punishments be properly carried out.

We have very often heard the following comment: "The act of placing on probation those offenders responsible for accidents involving major economic responsibilities is tantamount to handling a problem by leaving it unsettled." Actually, this is a misunderstanding. Reprieve is also a kind of punishment. Those who are responsible for accidents are still regarded as offenders although the execution of their sentences has been temporarily suspended. There is a legal basis for placing offenders responsible for major economic responsibilities on probation. Article 67 of the "criminal law" stipulates: probation may be set for offenders sentenced to detention or to fixed-term imprisonment of less than 3 years. The circumstances of the offense and the repentance displayed must be taken into consideration. Offenders must be deemed suitable for probation and must definitely not imperil society. Most of the offenders responsible for accidents involving major economic responsibilities usually repent the expected consequences of their acts. Generally speaking, they will not commit any other act harmful to society. Therefore, it is reasonable to set probation for offenders who are responsible for accidents whose nature is not too serious, although these accidents have produced grave consequences. Ma Jixiang, a major offender responsible for the "Bohai No 2" accident, was placed on probation after an overall consideration of the cause and effect of the case, the details of the offense and the behavior of the defendant. People believed that the defendant would not commit any act in the future harmful to society. Practice has proved that passing a sentence in this way not only educates and castigates offenders, but also prevents the occurrence of similar accidents. Such punishment achieves marked results in plugging up a loophole, removing a hidden danger, improving management and administration, and implementing rules and regulations governing production safety.

Of course, the types of punishments and penalty measures meted out to offenders responsible for major economic responsibilities should be determined by the circumstances of each individual case. We should not treat different cases as the same because the nature of the fault resulting in accidents is different. Some people were eager to fulfill their task and they committed mistakes due to carelessness. Some made mistakes because their past experience caused them to be too confident. Apart from these, some accidents occur because of offenders' irresponsible attitudes toward work or their approach of working against rules and regulations and turning a deaf ear to exhortations. To deal with these offenders, if it is not proper to place them on probation, we should mete out severe punishments to them.

On the day when an accident occurred in the Shanghai petrochemical's main plant, a worker in the water plant who was in charge of operating machines left his post without permission three times on that day. He mistook the electric switch of a large valve for the power switch of a small water pump. He pressed switches at random. The team leader who assigned him the work of operating the small pump read novels when he was on duty. After writing on the notebook "everything is normal," he left work with the worker who was in charge of operating machines. Their negligence held up the supply of cooling water, leading to the plant's suspension of production for 8 days. This serious accident has caused the country a great loss amounting to 15 million yuan. The two offenders were sentenced to 3 and 2 years' imprisonment respectively. The fact that the offenders were severely punished had a great impact on the staff, workers and cadres of the whole plant. They decided to call the day on which this serious accident occurred the "commemoration day."

The practice of meting out punishments for accidents involving major economic responsibilities is required by the four modernizations and the people's interests. We should try to find out and sum up experiences in this respect so this practice will play a still better role.

#### BRIEFS

JIANGXI CONSUMER PURCHASING POWER--According to the Jiangxi provincial statistics bureau, the province's purchasing power for consumer goods reached 3.84 billion yuan in 1980, 13.7 percent more than 1979. This figure included 1.89 billion yuan spent on food, 1 billion yuan on clothing and 810 million yuan on other goods, an increase of 8.4, 18.7 and 21.5 percent respectively over the previous year. The purchasing power of the agricultural population increased 16.5 percent, while that of the nonagricultural population increased 10 percent, over 1979. [Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Jun 81 OW]

SHANDONG INDUSTRY--In May the total industrial output value of Shandong Province's industrial and communications front registered a 3.45 percent increase over April and 3.49 percent increase over the corresponding 1980 period. Its light industrial output value was 1,686 million yuan, 6.91 percent more than in April and 1.15 percent more than the corresponding 1980 period. [Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 6 Jun 81 SK]

SHANGHAI OIL CONSUMPTION--It is learned from the Shanghai Municipal Petroleum and Coal Company that owing to energy shortages, the state has reduced the supply of fuel oil to Shanghai. This year's gasoline supply is further reduced by 9.2 percent, compared with last year. However, the number of sedans, jeeps and minibuses of government offices at all levels and the grassroots units seem to be increasing. These vehicles increased by 802 units in 1980 and by another 176 units during the first quarter of this year. The rate of increase has never been so fast. The main reason is that some leaders go in for ostentation and extravagance. Units at and above county and regiment levels want sedans after acquiring jeeps and want foreign-made cars after acquiring domestically produced ones. The municipal people's government engaged more than 1,000 small and medium-sized passenger vehicles when it called a meeting on increasing production and practicing economy on 3 April this year. This shows the indifference of some cadres toward energy conservation. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 8 Jun 81 OW]

SHANGHAI SEEDLING-GROWING EQUIPMENT--China's first complete set of equipment for growing rice seedlings was manufactured recently in Shanghai. The equipment makes it possible to raise rice seedlings by the assembly line method instead of the normal method of open field growing, which has been used for 4,000 years. Experiments using rice-seedling growing plants this year have showed that 200 mu of farmland, 50,000 jin of seeds, 17,000 jin of chemical fertilizers and 700 yuan worth of insecticides can be saved when the equipment is used to produce seedlings enough for transplanting 2,900 mu of single-crop early rice. In addition, the equipment can reduce labor hours and help mechanize the transplanting process. This equipment is in mass production at the Chongming farm machinery plant. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 8 Jun 81 OW]



RELATION BETWEEN HAIG TRIP, CCP PLENUM DISCUSSED

OW011138 Taipei LIEN HO PAO in Chinese 26 May 81 p 2

[Editorial: "Situation on the Mainland and U.S. Policy--On the Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee and Haig's Trip to the Mainland"]

[Text] According to reports from Peiping on 25 May by foreign news agencies, it is confirmed that the "6th plenary session of the 11th Central Committee" of the CCP, which has been repeatedly postponed, will be held in mid-June. Continuous struggles and purges are the characteristics of communist parties. The CCP in particular looks upon this as the only way to maintain its revolutionary dynamics. Meetings of this kind are invariably used to sum up the struggles of the preceding stage and to spark struggles for the new stage. We should take note of how the meeting proceeds, the personnel changes and the future developments and impact. However, the meeting itself is but a formality.

People interested in the upcoming sixth plenary session of the CCP Central Committee may want to know whether Hua Kuo-feng will step down or whether a general evaluation will be made of Mao Tse-tung's merits and demerits. Judging from communist parties' approaches and the CCP's internal power structure, we say that Hua Kuo-feng's downfall and the criticism of Mao are inevitable. It is a matter of time and methods. One interesting thing is the coincidence of the sixth plenary session of the CCP Central Committee with the trip to Peiping by Haig, secretary of state of the new U.S. Administration.

The editorial staff may differ more or less in their opinions regarding the correlation between foreign relations and the CCP's internal power structure. But a review of the events in the past 30 years and more shows that the two are quite related to each other. Since Kissinger's trip to the mainland 10 years ago, we have noticed a subtle relationship between announcement of important U.S. policies toward China and prominent U.S. figures' visits with the Chinese communists on the one hand and the Chinese communists' internal power structure on the other hand. Judging from the various developments and indications, Haig's upcoming trip is by no means a purely routine courtesy call. He may be going there to relay and explain new U.S. policies toward China, to express U.S. commitments to the Chinese communists or to familiarize himself with the mainland's political situation and the CCP's internal power structure. A reasonable speculation would be that he has all these three things to do during his visit there. The three things are related to one another to some degree. The crux of the issue lies in the Chinese communists' predicament and attitude. We would like to offer some of our views on this point.

Some students of Chinese communist affairs have noted the debates over strategic issues within the Chinese communists and maintained that the outcome from such debates not only affects their relations with foreign countries but also determines the internal power structure. They cite as examples the debate centering around Peng Teh-huai before and during the so-called "three red banner" campaign of the 1950's and the debate focused on Lin Piao around the "Great Cultural Revolution" of the 1960's. They have also noted that another round of debate on strategic issues seems to be going on within the CCP, especially the military, in recent years.

By and large, these debates are not purely military in nature, nor are they unique problems of the Chinese communists. They have aroused attention because the debates themselves and their outcome carry much greater political significance.

Generally speaking, no countries have limitless resources. The government's duty is to safeguard security and satisfy the people's needs in their daily lives. However, due to limited resources, it is impossible to fulfill needs in both aspects without some restrictions. Therefore, certain priorities should be set. Due to their extreme economic impoverishment, the Chinese communists find themselves in a more difficult position. If they choose to develop modernized and powerful armed forces to implement their international policy of "combating imperialism, revisionism and reactionaries," they will have an unbearable economic burden and are sure to meet with fierce internal resistance that will threaten the regime's very existence. If they choose to placate the people and provide improvements in their economic life, they will have to abandon the international policy characterized by traditional dogmatism and face the danger of rising dissatisfaction among the military bureaucrats from within.

There are indications that the Teng Hsiao-ping faction is more aware of the seriousness of the dissatisfaction among the people and intends to use the limited resources on economic construction and to improve the people's livelihood. Of course, they are also aware of the existence and seriousness of the external threat from the Soviet Union. However, now that the Chinese communists are already in financial straits and are committed to economic construction, they cannot afford massive military spending but must scale down the army. This is evidenced from their military spending and servicemen demobilization plans in the past 2 years. To stop increasing military expenditures and safeguard security at the same time, they can only turn to the United States, play the "U.S. card" and associate themselves with the United States to check the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, they can also obtain the funds, technology and machinery needed for economic development through their proximity with the West. This diplomatic line of the Teng Hsiao-ping faction will certainly jeopardize the vested interests and positions of the internal military chiefs. This is why the military sector of the Chinese communists has been opposed to the economic and diplomatic policies in recent years. Since "the barrel of a gun" has always been regarded as the foundation of the internal power structure of the Chinese communists, it is expected to gang up with the anti-Teng Hsiao-ping factions. Future developments from this meeting will be crucial in determining who will hold power.

Through the above brief analysis, we understand that although there seem to be dissenting views within the Chinese communists, they are meant to safeguard personal interests and positions. All in all, the Chinese communists have to rely on the assistance of the United States and the West if they are to settle the questions of security and economics simultaneously. To the United States and the West, countering the Soviet Union is only a short-term goal. Their long-term goal is to get rid of communism and make the people of the free world forever free from danger. Now that the Chinese communists are in desperate need of the support of the United States and the West, the United States should not merely seek short-term interests, but should seize the opportunity and make arrangements for achieving its long-term goal. Therefore, we hope that during his trip to Peiping next month, Secretary of State Haig will take a firm stand and avoid the mistakes that the Carter administration made.

HSIN WAN PAO SLAMS U.S. ARMS SALES TO TAIWAN

HK101313 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 10 Jun 81 p 1

[Unattributed "New Talk" column: "Washington, Do Not Feign Ignorance"]

[Text] "Where will the Chinese draw the line?" Allegedly, a "diplomat" in Beijing showed his perplexity in this way when he talked about Sino-U.S. relations and Alexander Haig's visit to China.

The dispatch was sent by UPI from Beijing. There is reason to believe that this "diplomat" is another American.

This line means the extent to which the United States will maintain its relations with Taiwan.

Actually, there should not be any perplexity about this. Beijing expressed its attitude long ago and has repeatedly reiterated that there is only one China and in no way should the "two-China" scheme and intervention in China's internal affairs be allowed. This is a major line. The United States may maintain unofficial relations with Taiwan and carry out trade of a nonmilitary nature with it. This is a minor line.

However, the situation now is: The United States wants to sell weapons to Taiwan and also wants to take the sale of arms to Beijing as a condition of exchange with Beijing.

The spokesman of the Foreign Ministry in Beijing has declared unequivocally: Beijing does not agree to the U.S. sale of weapons to Taiwan even if the United States will not sell arms to Beijing. Beijing tells Washington not to have any illusions before Haig's visit to Beijing. If you insist in selling weapons to Taiwan, you will see the consequences!

Why must the United States sell weapons to Taiwan? Is Taiwan facing the danger of being attacked by any foreign country so that it needs aid from the United States?

Did Chiang Ching-kuo not recently cry at the top of his voice that the time for the CCP's "collapse" is drawing near? So, he did not think that the Chinese mainland would pose the threat of an attack. Moreover, the Chinese mainland is not a foreign country. Since Taiwan and the Chinese mainland are one and the same country, the questions between them are of the nature of internal affairs. Why should the United States interfere with China's internal affairs? What right does the United States have to give arms to a force inside China and support it in coping with the Chinese Government recognized by the United States?

It is Beijing which really needs weapons to cope with foreign countries. Beijing is facing the threat of 1 million Soviet troops stationed in areas bordering on north China. Taiwan needs weapons only when it wants to fight side by side with the army and the people on the mainland against the formidable foe to the north. In that case, things can be arranged in an overall manner and Taiwan need not ask for outside aid.

Some people may say that the Carter administration had sold weapons to Taiwan after the formal establishment of diplomatic relations with Beijing. But, this sale was only a step to complete an unfinished contract which had been signed long ago, and Beijing also objected to it. Now the sale of weapons by the Reagan administration is a new deal, which cannot be tolerated.

As far as Beijing is concerned, the line has long since been drawn very clearly. Unless one is muddleheaded, one cannot fail to see it distinctly. Or, unless one feigns ignorance, only then can one turn a blind eye to it and ask: "Where is the line? Where is the line?"



NEWSPAPERS COMMENT ON HAIG'S TRIP TO CHINA

## Purpose of Visit

HK111135 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 11 Jun 81 p 1

["New Talk" column: "Haig on His Way to China"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State Haig will arrive in Hong Kong tomorrow and will be in Beijing the day after tomorrow. After that, he will go to Manila (to be an observer at the ASEAN conference) and Wellington (to attend the U.S.-Australia-New Zealand conference). He formerly planned to visit Japan as well. In that case, his trip would have concerned 10 countries. Now that his visit to Tokyo has been cancelled (because of the unpleasant event of U.S. warships carrying nuclear weapons into Japan), his present trip has become an official visit only to the capitals of three countries.

His visit to the Chinese capital is of course most closely followed. In the election campaign for the presidency, Reagan offended Beijing with his speeches. Although this was remedied later by Bush and was further remedied after he assumed office, some people continued to make speeches in an opposite tone. At a time when Haig will soon be in Beijing, the Reagan government has again made some remedies in words and deeds. Haig's visit to Beijing, the proposal of setting up a united trading committee and the intended discussions about Zhao Ziyang's visit to the United States and Reagan's visit to China are the greatest remedial actions.

It is said that Haig's present visit is meant to conclude "compensation trade": selling weapons to Beijing as "compensation" with the hope that Beijing will not oppose the United States' selling weapons to Taiwan.

Beijing has already expressed a categorical "no" ["no" is printed in English, not Chinese characters]. It will never barter away principles. The principles are those stipulated in the communique on establishing Sino-U.S. diplomatic relations--there can only be one China; Taiwan belongs to China and the United States should not interfere.

This is quite clear to the U.S. authorities. Therefore, before Haig starts his journey, Washington is again spreading word that the United States is ready to postpone its sale of FX fighter planes to Taiwan and that it may be postponed for 1 year and subsequently be reconsidered. We still have to wait and see if this is true. We also have to find out if there are any other tricks besides stalling tactics.

There is at least one minor thing which people consider as an unwise little trick. While Haig is visiting Beijing, Reagan's daughter Maureen will be visiting Taiwan. Of course, Maureen cannot be compared with Haig and her visit may be said to be an unofficial one. Nevertheless, what impression will it give? Are some people in Washington using this to strike a ridiculous balance?

Viewed from what has happened recently, some people are evidently trying to strike a balance and even trying to reverse the effect.

However, can the wheel of history be reversed at random? Can a balance be struck with perseverance in such a disparate situation? Are the considerations of global strategy not enough to make a real politician keep a cool head?

## Haig's Talk to Journalists

HK130757 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 13 Jun 81 p 2

["New Talk" column: "Haig Suddenly Opens His Mouth Again in Hong Kong"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig was not originally planning to talk to journalists in Hong Kong, but he suddenly changed his mind yesterday and started speaking as soon as he saw the journalists.

However, the only journalists he saw were those who accompanied him from America, not those working in Hong Kong press agencies and newspapers. It could therefore be said that he had not changed his original plan.

What made him unable to refrain from talking to the journalists? It seems it was the situation in Poland. A REUTER report said that he summoned the journalists in view of Moscow's latest serious warning and said that Poland should not be subjected to internal and external suppression. He predicted that the Soviet Union might intervene militarily in Poland within a few weeks.

The situation in Poland is certainly tense and on the brink of an explosion. At the Polish party's Central Committee meeting, the pro-Soviet hard-liners suffered a setback, while First Secretary Kania and Premier Jaruzelski, who had been attacked by name by Moscow, gained trust and support and remained undefeated. Jaruzelski immediately reshuffled his cabinet, dismissing one vice premier and four ministers. Moscow was obviously unhappy about this. After the United States accused the CPSU of interfering in Poland's internal affairs by issuing a warning letter to the Polish Communist Party, Brezhnev immediately opened his mouth, made use of the topic to put over his own ideas, and declared that it was necessary to make a "rapid and effective response" to U.S. military expansion.

It was against this background that Haig suddenly shot off his mouth in Hong Kong. In fact Reagan should have spoken on this subject, but as Haig spoke first, this was better than saying nothing.

There was another point of emphasis in Haig's talk. He said that he was not going to Beijing tomorrow for the purpose of that kind of "compensation trade" we have pointed out, that is, doing arms deals with both the mainland and Taiwan; instead, he was going to discuss global strategy, including the Soviet global and regional threats, and he was also going to eliminate misunderstandings, that is, to clear the air about Reagan's Asian policy, including the policy on Sino-U.S. relations.

Sino-U.S. relations were originally clear and free of misunderstanding. The principles of the communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations were written with great clarity. The reason for the misunderstandings is that the United States came up with a "Taiwan Relations Act," while the Reagan administration has also strengthened its ties with Taiwan, and has even involved the matter of selling arms to Beijing with U.S.-Taiwan relations, and wants to gain arms sales to Taiwan as well as a form of "compensation." Things like this have muddled matters which were originally quite clear and free of misunderstanding.

People know that Haig attaches importance to guiding American foreign policy by means of global strategy. There is no misunderstanding about him on this point.

To truly clarify the misunderstandings, he should have got to work in the United States itself. The fog arose in Washington and needs to be cleared and dispersed there.

According to reports, Beijing has already stated ahead of schedule that it will accept Arthur Hummel as the new U.S. ambassador in China. This has been described as a precedent-breaking expression of good will. U.S. officials should understand how to control and change themselves.

#### Problems in Sino-U.S. Relations

HK130448 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 13 Jun 81 p 2

[Editorial: "Haig's Visit to China and Sino-American Relations"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig arrived in Hong Kong yesterday. After a stopover here, he will fly to Beijing to begin his 3-day visit.

This will be the first visit by a senior official of the Reagan administration. At present, there are many problems in Sino-American relations. There is no doubt that Haig has been entrusted with a great mission with this visit. People hope that this visit will clarify some problems which have hindered the development of Sino-American relations so that relations between the two countries will further develop. This is a matter not only concerning the bilateral relations between the two countries, but also the overall situation of the world.

After the official establishment of the Sino-American relations, the relations of the two countries developed normally during the presidencies of Nixon, Ford and Carter in accordance with the principles of the "Shanghai Communique" and the joint communique on the establishment of Sino-American relations. There is no denying the fact that since Reagan became President, the relations between the two countries have entered a complicated and unstable stage and are following a tortuous course. There is a hidden crisis of retrogression. In the past 3 months, U.S. Government departments have received Taiwan's official representatives in Washington; the U.S. Congress has held a "hearing on the China issue"; a handful of people have peddled the old stuff of "two Chinas"; and although the decision to sell sophisticated arms to Taiwan has not been made, this matter is being talked about and discussed. The joint communique on the establishment of Sino-American diplomatic relations explicitly pointed out: "The U.S. Government recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China." It also reaffirmed the spirit of the "Shanghai Communique": "The U.S. Government recognizes China's standpoint that there is only one China and Taiwan is a part of China." However, the above-mentioned attitudes adopted by the Reagan administration toward Taiwan have become the crux that hinders the normal development of Sino-American relations.

The reason why we say that these attitudes have blocked the development of Sino-American relations is that the Reagan administration has adopted dual standards in handling its relations with China. It maintains that the joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries must be observed and that continuing to make efforts to promote its relations with the People's Republic of China is absolutely necessary in view of basic strategic reality and its global strategy. This is a matter of overwhelming importance to international stabilization and world peace. However, in handling relations with Taiwan, the Reagan administration has used the so-called "Taiwan Relations Act" to strengthen its relations with Taiwan. It believes that both can be implemented without creating a conflict. As a result, the phenomena of putting the cart before the horse and confusion are occurring. The Reagan administration has stated that it is willing to sell arms to the People's Republic of China. At the same time, it intends to sell arms to Taiwan. The White House has accepted the Sino-American consular treaty and the two countries will accordingly set up more consulates in each other's country. However, news keeps spreading in Washington that the number of subsidiary offices of Taiwan's "NAACC" in the United States will be increased and gradually restored to that before the establishment of Sino-American relations. The U.S. Government has treated these "unofficial" organizations as if they were official. This has shown how the U.S. Government actually handles diplomatic affairs. People cannot but wonder whether the Reagan administration is using dual tactics.

The "Taiwan Relations Act" was formulated after the United States established diplomatic relations with China in 1979. The U.S. Government says that it is an internal act, but it is, in essence, an act dealing with relations between nations. It runs counter to the principles of the joint communique on the establishment of Sino-American relations. It has provided the United States with a pretext to strengthen its relations with Taiwan and is a submerged reef which hinders the development of Sino-American relations. The fact that the U.S. Government sells arms to a province of China--Taiwan--obstructs China's peaceful unification, violates China's integrity and interferes in China's internal affairs.



There is no lack of far-sighted men in the Reagan administration. They should handle U.S. relations with China by proceeding from the overall strategic situation. They favor the normal development of Sino-American relations. Secretary of State Haig was NATO supreme commander and profoundly grasped the Soviet Union's global strategy. If he were to handle U.S. foreign relations from a strategic viewpoint, he would definitely observe the principles on the establishment of Sino-American diplomatic relations. During Haig's current visit in the East, the U.S. and Chinese sides will exchange their views on the world's general situation to seek more common ground. However, the prerequisite for doing so is the correction of the U.S. wrong attitudes toward Taiwan. We hope that Secretary of State Haig will play a beneficial role in handling U.S. relations with China in the future.

#### U.S. Strategic Viewpoint

HK130147 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 13 Jun 81 p 2

["Political Talk" column by Shih Chun-yu: "The United States Must Clearly Distinguish Between the 'Large Triangle' and the 'Small Triangle'"]

[Text] Haig's "Thorniest Foreign Visit"

U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig arrived in Hong Kong yesterday morning. Tomorrow he will leave for a 3-day visit to Beijing, "one of the thorniest foreign visits in his diplomatic career."

Haig has been to Beijing before, but this time he is traveling in a different capacity. Since the new U.S. President Reagan moved into the White House, Sino-U.S. relations have stagnated, and have also shown a great tendency to go into reverse.

This visit will therefore be a rather important one in Sino-U.S. diplomatic relations, and everyone is watching its outcome.

The Main Reason Is That Reagan Has Turned the Clock Back

It is now nearly 10 years since the Sino-U.S. Shanghai Communique was issued, and every time a U.S. secretary of state has visited Beijing he has engaged in deliberations on how to spur the advance of relations between the two countries.

Yet now, although the two countries have established diplomatic relations, the U.S. secretary of state cannot avoid discussing on his visit the question of how to avert a retrogression in Sino-U.S. relations or the occurrence of even greater complications. After that he can discuss the question of how to forge ahead.

The responsibility for this situation certainly does not lie with China. It has happened because during his presidential campaign, and since he took power, Reagan has consistently ignored the communique on the establishment of Sino-U.S. diplomatic relations and has said and done many things that violate that communique.

We Must First Look at U.S.-Soviet Relations

Haig talked yesterday to the reporters who came with him from America and who will be accompanying him to Beijing. He said he is prepared to take Soviet global expansion as the main subject of the talks.

It was also yesterday that Brezhnev held an extremely brazen interview in the Kremlin, implying that he would not shrink from war with America.

This was another escalation in Brezhnev's threats; following those against Poland, he now threatens the United States and West Europe.

In the present even more disturbed international situation, the Reagan administration obviously faces a big test over the questions of how to master America's strategic viewpoint and how to understand U.S.-Soviet and Sino-U.S. relations.

#### More World Flashpoints

When receiving UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, the Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping made a point of noting the characteristic of the current international situation is becoming even more uneasy. He also noted: There are more and more crisis flashpoints.

Due to the expansionist policy of the big and small hegemonisms, the situations in Kampuchea and Afghanistan have caused disquiet in neighboring regions. An international conference to discuss the Kampuchea issue will be held in New York on 13 July.

In the Middle East, the situation in Lebanon has led to the missile problem between Syria and Israel, while Israel's brazen attack on Iraq has caused a still greater world outcry.

The likelihood of a Soviet military intervention in Poland is growing daily, and the period of maximum danger will be the time around the Polish party congress next month.

#### The "Big Triangle" and the "Small Triangle"

All these things show that as the number of flashpoints keeps increasing, it becomes still more likely that Soviet hegemonism will seize the chance to step up its expansionist policy.

A retrogression in Sino-U.S. relations will be inevitable if the Reagan administration still has its view of the important things overshadowed by the trivial, and fails to observe and weigh the international situation from a strategic angle but instead goes on tightly clinging to the "Taiwan Relations Act" and tries to sell arms to Taiwan.

Sino-U.S.-Soviet relations form a big triangle, while Sino-U.S.-Taiwan relations form a small triangle. If Reagan, seated in the White House, is not even able to distinguish between big and small, then the hardline policy he advocated in the past against the Soviet Union will just amount to empty talk.

#### Meeting With Huang Hua

HK150800 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 15 Jun 81 p 2

[Political talk by Shih Chun-yu [2457 0689 3768]: "The Sino-U.S. Talks, Which Bear on World Peace"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] THE FIRST MEETING BETWEEN HUANG HUA AND HAIG

U.S. Secretary of State Haig and his party arrived in Beijing yesterday by a special plane and began the first round of Sino-U.S. bilateral talks in the afternoon.

Present at the meeting on the Chinese side was Chinese Vice Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Huang Hua. The XINHUA NEWS AGENCY did not report details of the meeting but said that Haig first explained the foreign policy of the Reagan government. It also reported that both sides exchanged views on major international issues of common interest in a thorough and deepgoing way and in a sincere and frank atmosphere. These few words already give a broad outline of the first meeting.

Haig himself was once a military man and is now the highest executive of U.S. foreign policy. In 1972, he came to China as a member of President Nixon's entourage and an advance agent.

In the 8 years since the Sino-U.S. talks on establishing diplomatic relations up to the present strategic discussions on preventing the Soviet Union's global aggression, Sino-U.S. relations have made rapid development on the basis of promoting the common interests of the people of the two countries.

#### BACKGROUND TO TAIWAN'S ARROGANT ATTITUDE

Because of pressure from pro-Taiwan forces in Congress, the Reagan administration has attempted to develop official U.S.-Taiwan relations with the Taiwan authorities according to the "Taiwan Relations Act." Moreover, Reagan intends to sell new-model weapons to Taiwan. This naturally is not in the interest of the efforts made by China's mainland and the Taiwan compatriots in unifying their motherland.

Feeling secure in the knowledge of Reagan's support, the Taiwan authorities have been swollen with arrogance in the past few months and have gone as far as putting forth the arrogant view of "unifying China under the three people's principles." They have paid no heed to Beijing's extraordinarily painstaking efforts and sincerity in appealing to establish "communications in three respects." This attitude of Chiang Ching-kuo cannot be isolated from Reagan's pro-Taiwan policies.

In developing its official relations with the Taiwan authorities, the Reagan administration is actually retracing its steps and its sale of new-model weapons to Taiwan is exactly what Chiang Ching-kuo wants. Letting Taiwan oppose new China with new weapons runs directly counter to the principles and spirit for establishing Sino-U.S. relations. How can Beijing tolerate this?

#### BEIJING DOES NOT TOLERATE "TWO CHINAS"

In the past, Beijing preferred not to participate in the United Nations, not to participate in the Olympic games and not to participate in many international organizations in order to oppose "two Chinas." It goes without saying that if anyone tries to have "two Chinas" in disguise, they are bound to meet with strong opposition from Beijing.

The present international situation is far more dangerous and difficult than that in 1972 when China and the United States held talks to establish diplomatic relations.

The existing facts today are: The Soviet Union is giving its support to Vietnam's occupation of Kampuchea, threatening Southeast Asia. The army of the Soviet Union has occupied Afghanistan and has posed an unprecedented threat to South Asia and the Middle East. The devilish talons of the Soviet Union have stretched even to the backyard of the United States--El Salvador. In Europe, the military forces of the Soviet Union have developed a crushing superiority.

#### SUCCESS OR FAILURE DEPENDS ON THE REAGAN GOVERNMENT

The shadow of global hegemony is getting darker and darker and the origin of a new war is in the Soviet Union. Both recent letters from the Kremlin to the Polish Communist Party, which in essence are ultimatums, and the arrogant threats to the United States imposed by Brezhnev show that the "polar bear's" ambition of aggression is greater than it was 8 years ago.

If the present talks are aimed at serving the overall and long-term strategic interests of China and the United States and handle differences according to the stipulations and principles in the communique of establishing Sino-U.S. diplomatic relations, achievements will be attained and the talks will be conducive to China and the United States and to world peace. If the Reagan administration wants to maintain its official relations with Taiwan, has its mind only on a \$700 million weapons deal and hopes that Beijing will make a concession in principle, it is trying to go south by driving the chariot north.



Huang Hua pointed out yesterday evening that China attached importance to the strategic relations between the two countries and that the present high-level talks had great significance in promoting mutual understanding and relations between the two countries. This shows that China devotes much attention to the present talks. But the crux of the outcome of the talks, as pointed out by Beijing, is the attitude of the United States toward Taiwan.

TA KUNG PAO REPORTS ON SINO-U.S. TEXTILE TALKS

HK070546 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 7 Jun 81 pp 1, 3

[Report: "No Agreement in Sino-U.S. Textile Talks; Beijing Accuses United States of Fixing Unreasonable Quotas"]

[Text] Beijing, 6 Jun--It has been learned that despite major concessions by the Chinese side, no agreement has yet been reached in the Sino-U.S. textile talks which ended here today.

Since its arrival in Beijing on 31 May, the U.S. textile negotiation delegation headed by the U.S. President's chief textile negotiator Murphy has been holding talks with its Chinese counterpart headed by Dai Jie, deputy chief of the Exports Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, on the quotas for five categories of textile goods to be exported by China to the United States. These five categories include: coats for men and boys; coats for women, girls and infants; knitwear for men and boys (including undershirts and t-shirts); woolen sweaters for men and boys; and woolen sweaters for women, girls and infants. After six rounds of formal talks, no agreement has yet been reached despite major concessions by the Chinese side.

On 17 September last year, Chinese Vice Premier Bo Yibo signed a textile agreement between the Chinese and U.S. Governments with President Carter in Washington. In a subsequent written statement explaining article 8 of the agreement, the U.S. Government said: "Barring any unforeseen turn for the worse, and before Chinese imports in one or several no-quota categories have reached the level established by other comparable, major and substantial suppliers, the Government of the United States of America will not request consultations with the Government of the People's Republic of China." It should be pointed out that there were originally no quotas for the five categories of textile goods mentioned above and the volume of exports is not very big. Take woolen sweaters for men and boys and woolen sweaters for women, girls and infants for example. In 1980 Chinese exports to the United States amounted to less than one-third that of Hong Kong. In compliance with the stipulations of the Sino-U.S. textile trade agreement, the Chinese side agreed to hold consultations with the U.S. side as requested and made major concessions in the talks. For example, the Chinese side of its own accord suggested lowering the quota for knitwear for men and boys from 11 million dozen to 800,000 dozen. Similar cuts were also made in other categories of textile goods. It is a pity that the U.S. side did not actively respond to the concessions made by the Chinese side. The U.S. side not only stubbornly insisted on lowering China's quotas but complicated the issue by ignoring the negotiation procedures and suggesting consultations on the quotas for Western-style coats for men and boys. As a result, the talks broke up in discord.

It is learned that prior to the negotiations, the U.S. side had already spread the word that it would unilaterally restrict these categories of Chinese textile goods after the period of consultation was over. Judging from the results of the talks, this news was not completely groundless.

Sino-U.S. textile trade is a part of Sino-U.S. trade as a whole. Thus, textile negotiations ought to take the overall situation of trade between the two countries into serious consideration. Take the first quarter of this year for example. During this period, Chinese imports from the United States amounted to nearly \$990 million, an increase of 42.5 percent over the same period of last year. On the other hand, Chinese exports to the United States only amounted to \$224 million a drop of 5.58 percent compared with the same period of last year. With regard to textile goods and fibers alone, China imported \$700 million worth of cotton and chemical fibers from the United States but exported only \$300 million worth of textile goods there last year. Moreover, Chinese exports to the United States include badly needed raw materials such as wool, down and raw silk, which have helped sustain the U.S. textile industry to a certain extent. Judging from the actual situation in Sino-U.S. trade, the unrestrained restrictions imposed by the U.S. side on the export of Chinese textile goods are unreasonable and are unfavorable to the steady and sustained growth of Sino-U.S. trade.

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